

DIACHRONY AND SYNCHRONY IN THE BOOK OF JOSHUA:
RESEARCH ON JOSHUA 3-4

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to present a test case for diachronic and synchronic approaches in the book of Joshua, especially Josh 3-4 which is one of the most complex texts in the Old Testament. The thesis pays attention to how Polzin's approach, which is regarded one of the best sympathetic readings of Joshua, is applied to the text of Josh 3-4, and the relevance of the theories of Auld.

After preliminaries in Chapter One, Chapter Two introduces the synchronic readings of Polzin, Hawk, Mitchell, and Winther-Nielsen, attempts to uncover the problems in applying their methods to this complicated text, and offers a critique of these sympathetic readings. Through this examination, the writer concludes that Polzin's methodology does explain a number of difficult problems in this text, but also that his reading has limitations. One important question is the relevance of these several approaches to the two different descriptions concerning the twelve stones set up in the middle of the Jordan and on the other side of the river.

Chapter Three investigates the differences between the MT and the LXX of Joshua 3-4 through text critical analysis, reconstructs the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX-Joshua 3-4 considering divergences between major Greek editions (Margolis, Rahlfs, and Auld), and examines the limitations of Polzin's synchronic study in reading only from the final text of MT. The large number of text critical issues in this text (Josh 3-4) makes it difficult to work only from the final form of the MT. A further difficulty is deciding which text we should follow among the MT, LXX, and *Vorlage* behind the Greek text. The impossibility of simple answers drives us to sympathize with a diachronic approach.

For the purpose of reading the literary history of Josh 3-4 in a diachronic way, the writer considers what position this text holds in the setting of the wider context of the ark narratives and water-crossing stories in the Old Testament. Thus, Chapter Four compares the ark story in this text with those in the Pentateuch and other Former Prophets. Chapter Five compares Joshua 3-4 with the crossing of the Reed Sea in Exodus 13:17-14:31 and with Elijah and Elisha crossing the river in 2 Kings 2. In these two chapters, the writer considers recent trends in literary criticism which reject the existence of a Yahwist (J) and prefer to call material which does not belong to P simply 'non-Priestly', and suggests new directions for literary criticism. One of these specific features is to read the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets in reverse order. In this part, the writer examines the relevance of Auld's theory, in which the shared material by Samuel-Kings and Chronicles is the root work of the story of Israel before the monarchy.

With the help of the investigations already mentioned, Chapter Six attempts to read the literary history of Joshua 3-4 based on the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX and on MT of Josh 3-4. This chapter retraces the complex literary history of Josh 3-4 and discusses the limitations of Polzin's synchronic study in reading Josh 3-4 only from the final text of MT.

WITH LOVE AND AFFECTION

DEDICATED TO
MY DEAR DAUGHTER

HA-NEUL LEE

WHO WILL OVERCOME ANY OBSTACLE WITH UNYIELDING WILL
AND WILL DREAM OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL THINGS
IN ANY DIFFICULT SITUATION

PREFACE

A doctoral thesis is a large project that cannot be completed without the assistance of many people who have accompanied me on the journey of life and who have laid a precious foundation for me and profoundly influenced my theology. It is now my pleasure to express my gratitude to them.

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Eun-Woo Lee,
Edinburgh.
September 2006.

DECLARATION

This thesis is in fulfilment of the requirements established by the University of Edinburgh, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the school of Divinity. The writer declares that no part of the material contained in this thesis has been submitted by him for any other degree or professional qualification. The writer hereby declares that this thesis is the candidate's own composition and is the result of his own research.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	D. N. Freedman (ed.), <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (6 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1992)
<i>AJBI</i>	<i>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
<i>ASTI</i>	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute (Leiden)</i>
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>ATJ</i>	<i>Ashland Theological Journal</i>
ATSAT	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
<i>AusBR</i>	<i>Australian Biblical Review</i>
<i>BARev</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BAT	Die Botschaft des Alten Testaments
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon</i> , (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997 [=1906])
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
<i>BHK</i>	R. Kittel (ed.), <i>Biblia Hebraica</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelschaft, 3rd edn, 1937)
<i>BHS</i>	K. Elliger and W. Rudolph (eds.), <i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i> (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelschaft, 4th edn, 1990 [=1967/77])
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
<i>BIOSCS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
BKAT	M. Noth and H.W. Wolff (eds.) <i>Biblicher Kommentar: Altes Testament</i>
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
BTH	The Book of Two Houses
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBOTS	Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series

CC	Continental Commentaries
CTA	A. Herdner (ed.), <i>Corpus des tablettes en cunèiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939</i> (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1963)
CTM	<i>Concordia Theological Monthly</i>
DCH	David J.A. Clines (ed.), <i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993-)
DDD	K. van der Toorn, <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> (Leiden: Brill, 2nd edn, 1999)
E	English (where verse numbers differ from the Hebrew)
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
EI	Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies
EstBib	<i>Estudios bíblicos</i>
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovaniensis</i>
ETR	<i>Etudes Théologiques et Religieuses</i>
EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FTS	Freiburger theologische Studien
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i> (ed. E. Kautzsch, revised and trans. A. E. Cowley; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910)
HALOT	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner <i>et al</i> (eds.), <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (2 vols., Leiden: Brill, study edn, 2001)
HAR	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i> (Columbus, Ohio)
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	G. A. Buttrick (ed.), <i>The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> (4 vols.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962)
JAOS	<i>The Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBS	Jerusalem Biblical Studies
JETS	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JOTT	<i>Journal of Translation and Textlinguistics</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	JSOT Supplement Series

JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KAI	H. Donner and W. Röllig (eds.), <i>Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften</i> (3 vols.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1964)
KEH	Kurzgefaßtes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
KHAT	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
KK	Kurzgefaßter Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments
LXX	Septuagint
LXX ^A	Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)
LXX ^B	Septuagint (Codex Vaticanus)
LXX ^L	Septuagint (Lucianic recension)
MT	Masoretic Text
NASOT	<i>New Avenues in the Study of the Old Testament</i>
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids)
NIV	New International Version
NJPS	New Jewish Publication Society Translation (1985)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
SAT	Die Schriften des Alten Testaments
SBAB	Stuttgarter biblische Aufsatzbände
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series
SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBOT	Sacred Book of the Old Testament
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SHANE	Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SOTS	Society for Old Testament Study Series
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
StudOr	<i>Studia orientalia</i>
TDOT	G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1974-)
Tg	Targum

TGUOS	Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society
TLOT	E. Jenni and C. Westermann (eds.), <i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (3 vols.; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997)
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TWAT	G.J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1970-)
TynBul	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
Vg	Vulgate
VL	Vetus Latina (Old Latin)
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
ZAR	<i>Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

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Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis seeks to present a test case for diachronic and synchronic approaches in the book of Joshua, especially in Josh 3-4. This complicated text, Josh 3-4, could be a good example for readers who are interested in the synchronic-diachronic question.

Since Polzin's epoch-making synchronic study of the book of Joshua,¹ a number of sympathetic readings have appeared.² Their studies showed a new direction for those who want to make sense out of the final form of the text. However, how can their methodologies be applied to Josh 3-4, one of the most complex texts in Joshua? This research attempts to probe the methodology of those synchronic readers who have dealt with this complicated text. One important test is the relevance of their approach to the two different descriptions concerning the twelve stones set up in the middle of the Jordan and on the other side of the river.

¹ R.M. Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History* (New York: Seabury Press, 1980). For more of his study, see *Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History* (San Francisco: Harper & Row Publishers, 1989); idem, *David and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); idem, 'Curses and Kings: A Reading of 2 Samuel 15-16', *The New Literary Criticism and the Hebrew Bible* (1993), 201-26; For reviews of his study, see J. Keating, 'Book Review, Polzin's *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*', *Faith and Mission* 7 (1989), 89-90; D. Jobling, 'Book Review on Polzin's *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*', *Interpretation* 44 (1990), 416; M.T. Davis, 'Book Review on Polzin's *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*', *Theology Today* 46 (1990), 458-460; B.L. Johnson, 'Book Review, Polzin's *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*', *Westminster Theological Journal* 54 (1992), 368-70; D. Edelman, 'Book Review. Polzin's *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 52 (1993), 306-308.

² For synchronic research on Joshua, see P.P. Saydon, 'The Crossing of the Jordan, Josue 3 and 4,' *CBQ* 12 (1950), 194-207; R.M. Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist*; B. Peckham, 'The Composition of Joshua 3-4,' *CBQ* 46 (1984), 413-31; L.D. Hawk, *Every Promise Fulfilled. Contesting Plots in Joshua* (Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991); G. Mitchell, *Together in the Land. A Reading of the Book of Joshua* (JSOTS 134; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993); J. Svensson, *Towns and Toponyms in the Old Testament, with Special Emphasis on Joshua 14-21* (CB [OT] 38; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1994); N. Winther-Nielsen, *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua: A Computer-assisted Rhetorical Structure Analysis* (OTS 40; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995); R.D. Nelson, *Joshua* (Old Testament Library; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997).

The large number of text critical issues in this text (3-4) also makes it difficult to read only from the final form of the MT.³ A further difficulty is which text we should follow among the MT, LXX, and *Vorlage* behind the Greek text. The impossibility of simple answers drives us to sympathize with a diachronic approach.

According to Winther-Nielsen, since Wellhausen proposed the theory that the Gilgal stone narrative was copied from the Jordan stone narrative, diachronic research has dominated the study of these chapters.⁴ This has been mainly focused on the MT.

Driver and Cooke held that this narrative was composed of three layers, P, JE, and a Deuteronomic editor.⁵ In contrast, Eissfeldt rejected as editors P and D and substituted them with J, E, and L.⁶

Unlike previous scholars' attempts to find older Pentateuchal sources in

³ For the text critical issues of this text, see especially S. Holmes, *Joshua, the Hebrew and Greek Texts* (Cambridge University Press, 1914); R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua* (Anchor Bible; NY: Doubleday, 1982); J.A. Soggin, *Joshua, OTL*, (London: SCM, 1982²); T.C. Butler, *Joshua* (WBC; Waco, TX: Word, 1983); L.J. Greenspoon, *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua* (HSM 28; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983); J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth* (NCBC, 1967; 1986²; London: Marshall Morgan and Scott); K. Bieberstein, *Joshua-Jordan-Jericho. Archäologie, Geschichte und Theologie der Landnahmeerzählungen Josua 1-6*. (OBO 143) Freiburg/Göttingen 1995; J. Moatti-Fine, *Jésus (Josué). Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, Introduction et notes*. (La Bible d'Alexandrie 6), Paris, 1996; S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' in C.E. Cox, *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Leuven 1989*. (Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 31) Atlanta 1991; idem., *Between Literalness and Freedom. Translation technique in the Septuagint of Joshua and Judges regarding the clause connections introduced by ו and וְ*. (Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 75) Göttingen 1999; E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,' in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible. Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. (SVT 72) Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999; idem., 'Midrash-Type Exegesis in the Septuagint of Joshua,' in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible. Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. (SVT 72) Leiden/Boston/Köln 1999; M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation: The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses* (SVT 102) Brill, Boston: Leiden, 2004; A.G. Auld, *Joshua, Moses and the land: Tetratauch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch in a generation of study since 1938* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980); idem., *Joshua Retold: Synoptic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998); idem., *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus* (Septuagint Commentary Series), Brill/Leiden/Boston, 2005.

⁴ N. Winther-Nielsen, *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua: A Computer-assisted Rhetorical Structure Analysis* (OTS 40; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995), 169.

⁵ S.R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 9th ed., 1913), 105; G.A. Cooke, *The Book of Joshua* (The Cambridge Bible, 1918), 17; P.P. Saydon, 'The Crossing of the Jordan, Josue 3 and 4,' *CBQ* 12 (1950), 194.

⁶ O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922), 206-9.

Joshua, Rudolph suggested a new direction in studying first Genesis, then Exodus to Joshua. Denying the existence of E, he divided Josh 3-4 into the following: a basic J narrative of the Crossing of the Jordan (3:1, 5-6, 14-17; 4:9, 10b, 11a, 12-13, 15-18, 11b, 19b); its first expansion of Joshua's magnification by an editor of J (3:7-11, 13; 4:14); a secondary account (3:12; 4:1b-5, 3b, 8a^b, 10a, 20); Deuteronomic additions, explaining and emphasising the role of the ark and the lesson from the crossing (3:2-4, 10; 4:6-8a^a, 21-24); and later glosses (3:4ab^a; 4:1a, 19a).⁷

Some scholars argue that Noth was influenced by Rudolph's viewpoint and accepted his literary theory. Noth came to believe that the failure of the literary critical research in Joshua was caused by the assumption that the contents of this book are simply a continuation of those in the Pentateuch. For him, such a thing as the 'Hexateuch' never existed in any form. He rejected the existing literary critical method in this narrative as well, because 'das Verschwinden des Jordanwassers deutlich genug nur einmal berichtet wird'.⁸ According to his 1938 edition of *Das Buch Josua*, this narrative is divided into 'den ursprünglichen Bericht and die deuteronomistische und spätere Redaktion'.⁹ In the 1953 edition, he breaks down this narrative even further. The purpose of this narrative was to explain 'die Steine im Jordanbett und die Steine in Gilgal'. These two stories 'vielleicht durch Umordnungen im Text vereinigt wurden [von dem Sammler]'. Then the Dtr (3:2-4, 6-10; 4:6, 7, 10a^ß, 12, 14, 21, 22, 24) and post-Dtr (4:15-18a) *Zuwachs* followed.¹⁰ Noth replaced Rudolph's documentary hypothesis with his own theory, and made a large contribution in developing the conception of a so-called Dtr history and its theology in the study of this narrative.

Keller rejected Noth's historical and literary theories, arguing that only the Gilgal stone version is original and that all other accounts of Joshua, the ark, the

⁷ W. Rudolph, *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Josua* (BZAW 68; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1938), 169-78.

⁸ M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT 1.7, 1938; Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr), 11, 1953² (ed), 31.

⁹ M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT 1.7, 1938; Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr), VII-XV, 10-13.

¹⁰ M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT 1.7, 1953²; Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr), 7-17, 25-37.

priests, and the command and its execution are secondary.¹¹

Dus, thoroughly indebted to Noth, changed his view into five successive layers: first, a fragmentary aetiology of the twelve stones in the Jordan; second, 'die um die Ätiologie der Gilgalsteine und der zwölf אנשים'; third, *ein Sammler*, who incorporated them into an account of the *Landnahmeerzählung*; fourth, a deuteronomistic interpolator, who was particularly concerned with the ark; and finally, *ein priesterlicher Bearbeiter*, who transposed the aetiology of the stones in the Jordan from its original connection with the crossing to its present association with the Gilgal aetiology.¹²

According to Vogt, the text is composed of two narratives, one historical and the other liturgical and ritual. In this analysis, he implied two editions of the Dtr history.¹³ Although Vogt followed Noth in making Dtr an editor rather than the author of the history, he seemed to try to avoid the excessive application of convergent theories.

Langlamet divided the materials in Josh 3-4 into nine sub-divisions:¹⁴ (1) the aetiology of the stones of Gilgal without the figure of Joshua (4:2, 3, 8); (2) a Shittim-Gilgal story (3:1, 5, 14a, 16; 4:19); (3) an 'ark' narrative (3:9-11, 13, 15a; 4:7, 10b); (4) an aetiology of the stones in the Jordan (4:9); (5) a 'Joshua' version of the aetiology of the Gilgal stones (4:4-5, 20); (6) two Gilgal catechisms (4:6-7, 21-24); (7) a first Deuteronomistic redaction (3:6, 8, 12, 13, 14b, 15b, 17; 4:1, 2, 9, 10, 11, 15-18, 21); (8) the texts of the Deuteronomistic historian or his school (3:2-3, 7, 17; 4:11b-12, 14); (9) brief later additions (3:3, 4, 4:13). Langlamet supplied most detailed divisions on this narrative and paid close attention to its literary and tradition-historical problems without having recourse to the kind of source-criticism

¹¹ C.A. Keller, 'Über einige alttestamentliche Heiligtumslegenden, II,' *ZAW* 68 (1956), 85-97.

¹² J. Dus, 'Die Analyse zweier Ladeerzählungen des Josuabuches (Jos 3-4 und 6),' *ZAW* 72 (1960), 106-34.

¹³ E. Vogt, 'Die Erzählung vom Jordanübergang, Josue 3-4,' *Bib* 46 (1965), 125-48.

¹⁴ F. Langlamet, *Gilgal et les récits de la traversée du Jourdain* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1969).

which Noth rejected.¹⁵

Repudiating previous literary theory and historical aetiology, Soggin maintained that the ritual reference is derived from the Exodus account of the Passover and the crossing of the Reed Sea. For him, the narrative is divided into two parts, pre-Dtr material and easily recognizable Dtr additions.¹⁶

Boling tried to reduce the complexity of this narrative by applying the so-called Deuteronomistic double redaction theory. He argues that to the story of the 'crossing from Shittim to Gilgal' (3:1-16; 4:10-14) was inserted the ancient aetiology (3:17-4:8), then 4:9 and 4:15-18 were added by Dtr₂.¹⁷

Van Seters holds that J and P were secondarily added into the original Dtr, which was influenced by Assyrian reports of military campaigns.¹⁸ According to him, the Dtr Historian interpreted the tradition of the entrance into the land as a great military conquest. Furthermore, he maintains that the Dtr narrative has a basic similarity to the accounts of such military campaigns in the Assyrian annals and to the 'letters to the god'. These pay special attention to a few major battles or conquests of important cities while summarizing the overthrow of many others in a stereotyped series. They sometimes highlight the overcoming of a special barrier, such as a river in flood or a mountain range. The king receives an oracle of salvation before an important battle from a deity who promises victory from the enemy. Sometimes envoys come from afar to sue for peace and submit to terms of servitude in order to avoid destruction. General descriptions of sieges or military strategies; lists of participants of coalitions, kings defeated, or cities; enumerations of casualties and the amount of booty; dedications of victory and of spoils to the god - all these occur with great regularity.¹⁹ From the complex narrative Van Seters first separates

¹⁵ A.G. Auld, *Joshua, Moses and the land: Tetrateuch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch in a generation of study since 1938* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1980), 43.

¹⁶ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, 43-67.

¹⁷ R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 179-181.

¹⁸ J. Van Seters, *In Search of History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 325-30.

¹⁹ J. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 330-31.

the basic Dtr account of the conquest, which, according to him, has been made to correspond with the literary pattern of military campaigns in the Assyrian royal inscriptions; 3:2-3, 6-7, 9-11, 13-16; 4:10b, 11a, 12-14. Then, the Gilgal stone story (J) was added; 3:8, 12, 17; 4:1-5, 8, 20-24. Finally, the priestly writer's concern for the ark and memorial stones in the middle of the Jordan (P) was inserted; 3:1, 4-5; 4:6-7, 9-10a, 11b, 15-19.²⁰ However, Van Seters dates the sources differently to most scholars. The date of D is ca. 625 B.C.E., while that of J is likely exilic (ca. 540 B.C.E.), and P postexilic (ca. 400 B.C.E.).²¹ His attempt to compare Josh 3-4 with Neo-Assyrian accounts appears to form a new category of literary studies and to broaden the way to approach this complex literary composite.

Peckham suggests that Dtr₂ mainly interprets the event as a skillful author and only vv 5, 10b, 16b in ch.3 belong to Dtr₁.²² He follows the double redaction theory, but only Dtr₂ plays an important role in his idea. Thus, his theory seems to be close to that of the so-called single deuteronomistic authorship.

According to Fritz, the final form of this narrative 'ist das Ergebnis eines langen Wachstumsprozesses, bei dem mehrere Stufen der Redaktion unterschieden werden können'. For him, '[d]ie ursprüngliche Fassung' is 3:1, 14a, 15a, 16; 4:11a, 18, 19, in the middle of which 'steht der Durchzug des Volkes'. Then, this narrative form 'wurde durch eine redaktionelle Überarbeitung ergänzt, in der die Rolle der Lade stärker betont wird, 3: 10, 11, 13, 14b, 17; 4: 9, 10'. This emphasis of the ark in the wonder of the Jordan belongs to the deuteronomistic redactor (RedD). Third, in the narrative of passing over the Jordan was 'eine Erzählung von der Mitnahme der zwölf Steine' from the riverbed and their 'Aufstellung am Ort des Lagers eingearbeitet 4:1-8, die durch 4:20-23 neu interpretiert worden ist'. Here 'der nachpriesterschriftliche Einschub (4:15-17)' and 'die weiteren redaktionellen

²⁰ J. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 325-27.

²¹ J. Van Seters, 'The Pentateuch' in S.L.McKenzie and W.P.Graham(eds), *The Hebrew Bible* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox,1998), 3-49.

²² B. Peckham, 'The Composition of Joshua 3-4,' *CBQ* 46 (1984), 418-31.

Zusätze' (3:2-4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 15b; 4: 11b, 12, 13, 14, 24) followed.²³ Fritz tends to follow the traditional historical-critical approach and seems to be especially influenced by Noth. However, since he starts the literary history with the first Deuteronomist, Fritz shows a different position from Noth, for whom there was a substantial contribution from an earlier *Sammler*.

Nelson mainly tries to find a pattern which emphasises the unity of this narrative in synchronic perspective,²⁴ but he recognises the existence of different materials beneath this complex text. According to him, this part is composed of pre-deuteronomistic material, deuteronomistic redaction, and P-like expression (3:4a; 4:16, 19),²⁵ but there is no evidence of the second deuteronomist in this narrative.²⁶ First, the main narrative line, which embodies the original story is 3:1, 5, 11, 13-17. He holds that the ark is certainly part of this pre-deuteronomistic material.²⁷ Second, he indicates the contribution of DH to this narrative with some confidence. The designation 'carriers of the ark' (3:15a) has been supplemented from a deuteronomistic perspective by 'the levitical priests' (3:3) and then simply by 'the priests' (3:13, 14, 15, 17; 4:9, 10, 18). Other deuteronomistic contributions are the appearance of the priests in 3:6, 8,²⁸ the concern for the two and half tribes in 4: 12,²⁹ the title 'the ark of the covenant' (3:3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17),³⁰ and the expanded terminology for the ark in 4:7, 9, 18.³¹ The three-day chronology and 'the officers'

²³ V. Fritz, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT I/7, Tübingen, 1994), 1-9, 41-56.

²⁴ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 1-24, 53-75. In synchronic perspective, Nelson finds a pattern of narrative action interwoven with associated speech (command, prediction, and explanation): command (3:3, 5a, 6, 8; 4:2, 3, 5, 15-17), prediction (3:5b, 13), explanation (3:4, 11; 4:6-7, 14, 21-24). That is 'an inner circle of speeches focus on the story at hand. Similarly, an outer circle of (deuteronomistic) sentences splice the narrative into the larger story of Joshua: 3:2, 7, 9-10; 4:12-14. Yet another set of phrases connects what happens at the Jordan back to the exodus experience' (3:16; 4:19, 22-23).

²⁵ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 1-24, 53-75.

²⁶ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 6.

²⁷ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 56.

²⁸ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 56.

²⁹ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 66.

³⁰ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 56.

³¹ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 66.

of 3:2 could be connected back to 1:10-11 and Joshua's correlation to Moses in 3:7 and 4:14 to 1:5 and 7, which are the concerns of DH. Another characteristic deuteronomistic interest is the education of future generations (4:6-7, 21-24).³² Third, priestly redactional interests (3:4a; 4:16, 19) played a role in the creation of the final form of this narrative, but to link this P-like redactional activity with the Priestly writing in the Pentateuch is to go beyond the evidence.³³ However, he maintains that further attempts to reconstruct the literary history of this narrative, beyond this recognition of deuteronomistic redaction and the conspicuous P-like redaction, are doomed to failure.³⁴

On the other hand, there have been some scholars, who noted a great number of differences between MT and LXX-Josh 3-4, and tried to consider the challenges from LXX more seriously.

In his 1914 study *Joshua*, Holmes pointed out that the differences between the Hebrew and Greek texts are not the result of textual errors in the Hebrew text underlying the Greek translation, but those of a systematic revision on the MT side.³⁵ According to him, since the MT is longer in many places, it is the result of a deliberate and later revision.³⁶ Having established the priority of LXX over MT in Josh 3-4, Holmes raised the possibility that the Greek text represented the original Hebrew text, while the MT was the result of subsequent additions.

Auld supports Holmes' position on the priority of LXX, but unfolds his theory on a much bigger scale. He pays attention to the literary-critical problems in the book of Joshua, and suggests new literary relations between Joshua and the Pentateuch on the one hand, and the book of Chronicles on the other.³⁷ However,

³² R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 66.

³³ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 9.

³⁴ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 57.

³⁵ S. Holmes, *Joshua, the Hebrew and Greek Texts*.

³⁶ S. Holmes, *Joshua, the Hebrew and Greek Texts*, 3.

³⁷ A.G. Auld, *Joshua, Moses and the land*.

these literary-critical problems should be taken into account with the large number of text-critical issues represented by LXX-Joshua. For him, the generally shorter Greek text is better witness than the MT to that common original from which have both diverged.³⁸ Auld noticed that among Langlamet's nine layers in Josh 3-4, the last three redactional layers are MT pluses.³⁹ According to him, the much longer MT-Josh 3-4 is the result of 'progressive supplementation'⁴⁰ or 'expansion'.⁴¹

Tov also pays close attention to the differences between the LXX and MT of Joshua in the broader context of the Hebrew Bible.⁴² He holds that the numerous divergencies between MT and LXX-Joshua should be understood as the result of a re-editing of the book.⁴³ His study on Josh 3-4 also focuses on the pluses in the MT which are much more frequent than its minuses. He classifies those large number of pluses in MT under the headings of 'additions of MT whose secondary nature is evident from the context', 'additions in MT whose secondary nature is evident from their formulation', 'small elucidations', 'harmonizing additions', 'contextual additions', 'emphasis', 'substantial additions', 'theological corrections', and the 'influence of Deuteronomy'.⁴⁴ According to him, the pluses in MT-Josh 3-4 are contextually secondary and exegetical additions.⁴⁵ The LXX-Josh 3-4 also contains some pluses, which may have been omitted from MT. The minuses and pluses of the *Vorlage* of the LXX-Josh 3-4 make the MT and LXX into two parallel editions.⁴⁶ This explains his leading principle of literary growth in the book of Joshua. Unlike preceding scholars such as Holmes and Auld, Tov also pays attention to the internal

³⁸ A.G. Auld, *Joshua Retold: Synoptic Perspectives*, 19.

³⁹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua, Moses and the land*, 91.

⁴⁰ A.G. Auld, *Joshua Retold*, 24.

⁴¹ A.G. Auld, *Studies in Joshua: Text and Literary Relations*. (Thesis presented for the Degree of Ph.D. to the University of Edinburgh) Edinburgh 1976, 119.

⁴² See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis/Assen/Maastricht, 1992), 313-349; idem, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. *JBS* 8(Jerusalem 1997²), 237-263.

⁴³ E. Tov, E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,' 385-396.

⁴⁴ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua,' 389-394.

⁴⁵ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua,' 394.

⁴⁶ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua,' 395.

evidence of the book of LXX-Joshua. For this purpose, he examines the translator's word choice as well as the word order and consistency in the translation. Thus, the translation technique of LXX-Joshua is important for the evaluation of the LXX. According to Tov, even though the translation technique of LXX ranged from 'relatively free' to 'relatively literal,' it remained sufficiently close to the Hebrew to establish the translator's faithfulness to his source. This could be supported by the fact that the pluses of the LXX are Hebraistic in diction and can be retroverted easily into Hebrew.⁴⁷

Even though Sipilä pays attention to the translation technique of LXX-Joshua in his recent book *Between Literalness and Freedom*⁴⁸ and skillfully evaded the burden of answering the question of whether the Greek translator worked from a different Hebrew *Vorlage* by excluding those passages where MT and LXX differ from his study,⁴⁹ in his earlier study on Josh 3-4 he discussed textual variants between MT and LXX-Josh 3-4 closely.⁵⁰ In all, he deals with 120 cases within Josh 3 and 4, where the LXX and MT differ from each other.⁵¹ Above all, he first pays attention to the translation technique of the LXX. As Hebrew differs a lot from Greek, the translation differs in many cases from the *Vorlage*. The translator sometimes changed or modified the Hebrew wording and structure. However, most of the cases where his/her translation does not follow the wording of the *Vorlage* are connected with purely linguistic problems. Even though the translator did not always produce fluent Greek, he/she was capable of handling most of the difficulties.⁵² Here he points out Noth's mistakes in arguing that the LXX-*Vorlage* was actually the same as the Masoretic text and that all the deviations from the Masoretic text had been caused

⁴⁷ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua,' 388.

⁴⁸ S. Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom*.

⁴⁹ S. Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom*, 17.

⁵⁰ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 63-74.

⁵¹ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 64.

⁵² S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 65.

by the LXX-Translator,⁵³ since we now know that the *Vorlage* really differed from the Masoretic text.⁵⁴ Second, he considers corruptions in the Masoretic text.⁵⁵ In these cases the MT has 11 additions, 4 corrections and 4 mistakes within Josh 3-4, which attests to the *Vorlage* being more original than the MT. The corruptions include the MT copyist's attempts to clarify the texts, which were in some way strange or vague, and theological corrections.⁵⁶ Third, he also maintains that there were corruptions in the LXX-*Vorlage*.⁵⁷ According to him, there are 16 corruptions in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX-Josh 3-4, which can be divided into 10 corrections, 3 additions and 3 mistakes. The reasons for the correction in the *Vorlage* are mainly for the clarification of the context; and they are sometimes connected with a formula or actualisation of the text. Anyway the MT is more original in this case.⁵⁸ Therefore, for Sipilä, both the opinions that the MT is the only relevant text (e.g. Noth's viewpoint) and that the LXX is the better and more original text (e.g. Holmes' viewpoint) are criticized. Rather, according to him, the *Vorlage* is as good or as original as the MT.⁵⁹

Another contribution to the debate is provided by Van der Meer, who critiques Holmes, Auld, and Tov in his book *Formation and Reformulation*.⁶⁰ He tries to prove the priority of the proto-MT over the *Vorlage* of the LXX. According to him, the evidence from the biblical scrolls from the Dead Sea and also the Septuagint is not sufficient to support the priority of the LXX *Vorlage*.⁶¹ Even though there is some possibility of reconstructing an editorially different Hebrew version behind LXX-Joshua 20, in all other cases one cannot claim an editorial priority of the LXX

⁵³ M. Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT 1.7, 1938; Tübingen: J.C.B.Mohr), 7.

⁵⁴ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 66.

⁵⁵ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 68.

⁵⁶ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 68-9.

⁵⁷ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 69.

⁵⁸ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 71.

⁵⁹ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 72.

⁶⁰ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation: The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses* (SVT 102) Brill, Boston: Brill, 2004.

⁶¹ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 115.

over the MT.⁶² He holds that not the LXX but the MT attests to the final stage of the literary formation of Joshua.⁶³ Thus, his conclusion is that the study of the literary formation of the Hebrew text should be in its own right and that of the ancient versions in their own context.⁶⁴ Following established so-called deuteronomistic theory, he divides the redactional history of the book of Joshua into three stages: 1) a Deuteronomistic reformulation of older pre-Deuteronomistic narratives, 2) a nomistic redaction of the Deuteronomistic sections; and 3) a Priestly redaction.⁶⁵ He reaches this position by dealing with Josh 1, Josh 5:2-12, Josh 8:1-29, and Josh 8:30-35 in his four major chapters. But he does not study Josh 3-4 closely, which contains a number of textual and literary critical issues, and which seems not to accord with his position. He simply mentions that 4:21-5:8 is the Deuteronomistic version of the Joshua narratives and that 4:19 is part of a Priestly redaction of the Book of Joshua.⁶⁶

As we saw above, the diachronic research on Josh 3-4 so far has been proceeding in two directions. On the one hand, there have been some attempts to find various layers of material behind the text giving priority to and based solely on the MT. On the other hand, there have been attempts to reconstruct the textual and literary history of this narrative, considering a number of differences between the MT and LXX, and accepting those challenges raised by the LXX. However, the former shows the limitation of not paying attention to the differences between the MT and LXX, but tracing the literary history of this complicated narrative only from the final form of the MT. In addition, almost all of their studies are indebted to the existing so-called deuteronomistic theory raised by Noth. While the latter have merits in the point that they note the divergences between MT and LXX, and adequately consider

⁶² M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 115-116.

⁶³ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 523.

⁶⁴ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 156-59.

⁶⁵ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 115-153.

⁶⁶ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 536.

those challenges raised by LXX, even such investigations do not supply detailed explanation on the literary history of Josh 3-4. In particular, they have not explained clearly a good number of repetitions, discontinuities, and inconsistencies in the text. Furthermore, they do not offer any detailed and distinct analysis of the literary history and of the various strata of materials existing behind this text. Even though this kind of study succeeds in highlighting the importance of the Septuagint and in showing the priority of LXX at some points, it has not attempted to produce a retroversion of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX-Josh 3-4, nor has it tried to reconstruct the literary history of this narrative from the OG *Vorlage* or find layers of materials in this text.

Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to reconstruct the literary history of Josh 3-4, and find out the various layers of materials behind this text, while thoroughly considering those challenges provided by OG *Vorlage*.

In this thesis, we will also discuss one of the recent trends in the diachronic way of reading the text. P. Volz and W. Rudolph attempted to show the non-existence of E,⁶⁷ and in a recently published book, *Abschied vom Jahwisten*, A.G. Auld, J. Blenkinsopp, E. Blum, J.C. Gertz, W. Johnstone, R.G. Kratz, T.C. Römer, K. Schmid, and M. Witte reject the existence of a Yahwist (J). They prefer to call material which does not belong to P simply 'non-Priestly', and suggest new directions for literary criticism.⁶⁸ One of these specific features is to read the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets in reverse order. According to Blum and Van Seters, the non-Priestly portions of Genesis-Numbers were written on the basis of Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets. Van Seters keeps the name 'Yahwist' but his Yahwist is also post-

⁶⁷ P. Volz and W. Rudolph, *Der Elohists als Erzähler: Ein Irrweg der Pentateuchkritik?* (Giessen: Alfred Töppelman, 1933) W. Rudolph, *Der "Elohists" von Exodus bis Josua* (BZAW 68; Berlin: Töppelman, 1938).

⁶⁸ J.C. Gertz, K. Schmid & M. Witte (eds), *Abschied vom Jahwisten*, (Berlin;NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2002).

Deuteronomistic.⁶⁹ For Auld, ‘The Book of Two Houses’ (the story of the house of David in Jerusalem and of the house that Solomon built for Yahweh there) is ‘the root work of the whole tree of Genesis – Kings’.⁷⁰

For the purpose of investigating these recent challenges and reading the literary history of Josh 3-4 in a diachronic way, the writer proceeds to the next two studies.

First, what position does this text hold in the setting of the wider Old Testament? Especially how do we compare the ark story in this text with that in the Pentateuch⁷¹ and other Former Prophets and Chronicles?⁷²

Second, how do we compare this text with the crossing of the Reed sea in Exodus 13:17-14:31 and with Elijah and Elisha crossing the river in 2 Kings 2?

There are a number of issues which need to be resolved before we read this literary composite.

Chapter Two introduces the synchronic reading of the text by Polzin, Hawk, Mitchell, and Winther-Nielsen, and attempts to uncover the problems in applying their methods to this complicated text, while offering some critique for sympathetic readings.

Chapter Three investigates the differences between the MT and the LXX of Joshua 3-4 through text critical analysis, reconstructs the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX-Joshua 3-4.

As a preliminary study to read the literary history of Josh 3-4 in a diachronic way, the writer considers what position this text holds in the setting of the wider

⁶⁹ J. Van Seters, ‘The Pentateuch’ in S.L. McKenzie and W.P. Graham (eds), *The Hebrew Bible* (Louisville KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1998), 3-49.

⁷⁰ A.G. Auld, ‘The Former Prophets’ in S.L. McKenzie and W.P. Graham (eds), *The Hebrew Bible* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1998), 53-68; idem. *Kings without Privilege* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); idem. ‘The Deuteronomist between History and Theology’ (Congress Volume: Oslo, 1998/s), 353-36.7

⁷¹ Exod 25:10-22; 33:1-6; 37:1-9; Num 10:33-36; Deut 10:1-9.

⁷² 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2; 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16; 1 Kgs 8:1-11//2 Chron 5.

context of the ark narrative and water-crossing stories in the Old Testament.

Chapter Four compares the ark story in this text with that in the Pentateuch and other Former Prophets and Chronicles.

Chapter Five compares this text with the crossing of the Reed sea in Exodus 13:17-14:31 and with Elijah and Elisha crossing the river in 2 Kings 2.

With the help of the above investigations, Chapter Six attempts to read the literary history of Joshua 3-4 based on the Hebrew *Vorlage* and the MT of Josh 3-4. One other major purpose of this chapter is to find materials which exist behind the text of MT and LXX, through a diachronic way, revealing a literary history. This study aims to find in this complex narrative various layers of materials in much the same way as archaeologists or geologists explore the strata they study. In this chapter, the writer discusses the limitations of Polzin's synchronic study, which is regarded one of the best sympathetic readings in this text, in reading only from the final text of MT.

Chapter Two

Synchronic Readings of Joshua 3-4

Since Polzin opened new horizons in biblical research, there have been many synchronic studies attempting to prove the consistency and unity of theme in the book of Joshua. In this chapter, we will examine the methodologies of some notable holistic readers, Polzin, Hawk, Mitchell, and Winther-Nielsen, the differences and similarities between them, and whether the other three go through the door which Polzin opened. Furthermore, we will investigate how their methodologies are applied to 3-4, one of the most complex texts in the book of Joshua, and how they explain the two different descriptions of the stones in the middle of the Jordan and on the other side of Jordan. Finally, we will examine to what extent these holistic readers recognise the differences between the MT and the LXX in this text.

2.1. Polzin: *Moses and the Deuteronomist*¹

In his book *Moses and the Deuteronomist*, Polzin presents a literary analysis of *Deuteronomy*, *Joshua*, and *Judges*. His book contains the description of a debate between traditional historical and contemporary literary criticism. In this volume, Polzin holds that while a diachronic historical-critical analysis of biblical texts is necessary for an adequate understanding (p. 3), a preliminary literary analysis of biblical material is necessary for a scholarly understanding of what this ancient text means (p. 5).

According to Polzin,

¹ R.M. Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist : A Literary Study of the Deuteronomistic History*.

[t]he priority of synchrony (in the dynamic sense emphasized especially by the Russian structuralists) over diachrony is not in rank but only in operation (p. 6).

Citing Krystyna Pomorska, he asserts that

if we move in the opposite direction, basing synchronic analyses on historical studies, *we always run a risk of applying ready-made theories to them* [Polzin's italics] (p. 6).

According to Polzin, we have to make a literary analysis the starting point of our efforts to gain an intimate knowledge of the literary work (p. 6). He writes that his assumption is not based upon previous historical critical analysis. However, from the beginning he assumes that the Deuteronomistic History (DH) is a unified literary work (p. 18). For him, the so-called 'Deuteronomist' means a person or persons fulfilling an authorial or editorial role, who is/are responsible for the final form of the DH (p. 18). He goes so far as to argue that a 'prophet like Moses' is the so-called Deuteronomist himself (p. 61).

Following Voloshinov's linguistic analytical method, Polzin applies the distinction of direct and indirect discourse to the so-called DH. He contends that almost all of the book of Deuteronomy is composed of *reported speech*, mostly in direct discourse and mostly of Moses. On the other hand, Joshua – 2 Kings predominantly consist of *reporting speech*, that of the narrator, with a significantly smaller amount of reported speech (p. 19). In reported speech what God has prophesied concerning Israel is emphasised, while in reporting speech how God's word has been exactly fulfilled in Israel's history is underscored by the narrator (p. 19).

Polzin suggests that the reader should distinguish voices, for example, Yahweh's, Moses', a prophet's, and the narrator's (who delivers their voices).

According to Polzin,

... on the basic plane of a work's ideology, a proposed framework ought to be able to describe which of the text's utterances or words express its dominant ideological voice(s), which its subordinated or dependent ideological voice or voices, and which utterances express both kinds of voices (p. 24).

Based on the Russian Bakhtin's formalist theory, Polzin appears to maintain that when a narrator's and hero's voice overlap each other, a distinct ideological perspective is claimed. Polzin argues that it is possible to find an 'ultimate semantic authority' which could either be a single voice or two or more voices, by analysing the composition of the text (p. 20).

According to Polzin, in the book of *Deuteronomy*, Moses is both God's mouthpiece and the hero of the book. Here, the narrator, who delivers Moses' word to the people of Israel plays the important role of the author of the so-called Deuteronomic history. He holds that there can be a tension between the voice of Moses and that of the narrator, with the result that the narrator's words weaken Moses' authority (p. 35). By inserting editorial expressions such as 'to this day' (Deut. 2:22) when he conveys Moses' word, the narrator intercepts the flow of the passage and makes the readers bend an ear to his evaluation. Polzin asserts that the voice, in support of Moses' authority, has an ideological tendency that emphasises God's mercy. Nevertheless, the voice that weakens Moses' authority involves an ideological tendency highlighting Yahweh's justice (p. 39). Polzin insists that the book of *Deuteronomy*, in its ideological and surface composition, provides the reader with a bird's-eye view of the so-called DH (p. 72).

Polzin observes that the book of Joshua is composed by the formation of

direct discourse between Yahweh and Joshua delivered indirectly through the agency of the narrator. He insists that the purpose of the book of *Joshua* is to show how Moses' law is applied. That is to say, in the course of Joshua's conquest of the land the narrator states the estrangement of the people from Yahweh's word (p. 144). Using the Russian formalist Uspensky's perspective, Polzin analyses the narratives in the book of *Joshua* in the dimension of phraseological, spatio-temporal, psychological, and ideological aspects (pp. 73-145). Polzin states that the ultimate and semantic authority of the book of *Joshua* can be established by finding a dominant ideological trend in the complex composition of various voices. Polzin contends that Israel's identity as both citizen and alien supplies the interpretive clue to the dominant ideological perspective of the book of Joshua. The constant concern of the text with 'exceptional outsiders,' (Rahab, the exempted animals of Ai, the trickster Gibeonites, the women, dependants, Levites, or especially the transjordanian tribes of Israel,) shows their functional role throughout the story as *types of Israel* (p. 145). According to Polzin, God's mercy and justice function together. He claims that the relationship between God's mercy and justice can be understood by Israel's self-understanding as both citizen and alien within the community of the Lord. As the narrative describes Israel settling within the land, it emphasises how much of the 'outside,' both communally and territorially is 'inside' Israel. Doubtless the Deuteronomic narrator's audience, which appears from the text to be situated outside Israel-the-land, could take comfort in the realization that they had always been outsiders, even when inside the land. At the same time, the experience of the Transjordanian tribes could offer a model for an Israelite community, even though they lived outside the land that God had given to their fathers. Thus, in spite of all their deficiencies, the fact that the community of Israel was still alive is the gist of all of the ideological aspects of the story. This confusing fact was something that authoritarian dogmatism could not explain easily (p. 145).

In the postscript, which is the fifth part of the book, Polzin traces the hermeneutical implications of his study. According to him, the so-called Deuteronomist, who does not always support Moses' authority, does not allow immediacy, transparency, and univalency for the text: subsequent revisionary interpretation not only does not recover the original word of God, but makes clear that that is impossible (p. 206). Polzin holds that modern historical criticism has a Hirschian perspective, which is to say, that a text has a single meaning that is the intent of the original author (p. 211). On the contrary, Gadamer, like Deuteronomy, allows for freedom, multivalence, and contradictory meanings. By applying Gadamer's theory, he appears to argue that the text is open to any possible meaning. However, it seems to be that each text has its own distinct meaning within its special situation. Furthermore, there may be layers of both long tradition and redaction lying under a text. The research on Josh 3-4, one of the most complex texts in the book of Joshua, reveals more about these questions.

Polzin devotes '... an inordinate amount of space to an analysis of Joshua 3:1-5:1'² (p. 92) and pays 'special attention to this narrative to illustrate how powerfully it can affect and effect the ideological perspectives of the book' (p. 94). He contends that 'the ritual nature' of 3:1-5:1 allows the Deuteronomist to construct a highly intricate and amazingly precise compositional structure. According to him, the programmed and stylized aspects of *a cultic procession* offer the narrator a vast array of literary devices that interconnect the various surface points of view of the story to a degree that approaches geometric precision (p. 94).³ Maintaining that the chronological discrepancy between 3:2 and 4:19 is not a 'crucial problem', and does not play a 'key role', he insists that it is not so meaningful to invest hermeneutic energy in this question (pp. 91-2). He regards the event of crossing the Jordan as a cultic procession based on the chronological contents in this narrative and 4:19.

² Polzin attaches Josh 5:1 to the 'Jordan crossing story'. For this, see next chapter.

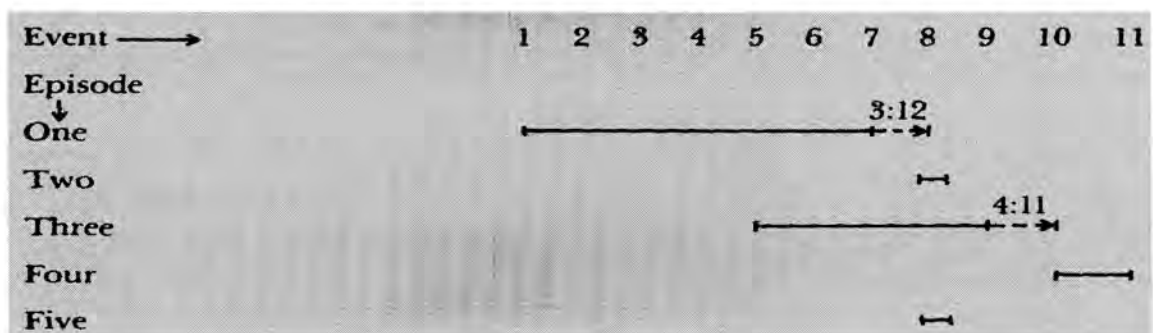
³ Here Polzin does not consider textual issues raised by scholars. For this, see Chapter Six.

Following the Russian formalist Uspensky's view, he analyses the temporal, spatial, psychological, and phraseological aspects of this narrative and pays attention to '...the highly complex nature of the literary interconnections that [seem to] make up its unity (p. 94)'.

First, he tries to explain the complexity of this text by 'a frequent and often puzzling shift in temporal point of view (p. 94).' The narrative of 3:1-5:1 shifts back and forth in its temporal perspective. According to Polzin, the narrative in these two chapters is composed of a 'chain of eleven representative events':

1. Journey from Shittim to the Jordan;
2. Procession to the river bank;
3. The priests carrying the Ark enter the river;
4. The waters pile up;
5. The people enter the river;
6. The priests stop in the middle of the river;
7. The people cross over;
8. Joshua has twelve stones set up at Gilgal;
9. Joshua has twelve more stones set up in the middle of the Jordan;
10. The priests carrying the Ark come up out of the Jordan;
11. The waters of the Jordan return to their place.

And these events are divided into five episodes:



The first seven events in chapter 3 (from the story that ‘all Israelites set out from Shittim and came to the Jordan’[3:1] to the report that ‘all Israel passed over on dry ground until the whole nation had crossed the river’[3:17]) constitute the first episode. Event 8 (4:1-8) is the second episode, related to God’s command to choose twelve men (4:2) and the setting down of the twelve stones in the Israelite camp. Here he argues that 3:11-12 prefigures episode 2 and thus creates a literary connection between the two episodes (p. 95). The material in 4:9-14 comprises the third episode. He says that ‘[t]he temporal limits of this third episode extend both before and beyond those of the second episode.’ Furthermore, this episode retraces certain events that had occurred within the first two episodes. Here again, he contends that 4:11 is also ‘... a literary foreshadowing of the central event of the fourth episode (4:15-18), that is, the priests carrying the ark coming out of the Jordan (p. 96).’⁴ Finally, the fifth episode (4:19-5:1) comprises the same eighth event as the second event. Polzin argues that this is a temporal shift backwards to replay 4:1-8 from different spatial and psychological points of view (p. 97). According to him, 3:12 and 4:11 are also ‘literary signals’ that shift in time to highlight the setting up of the twelve stones (4:1-8) and the coming up of the priests (4:15-18) (p. 97).

Further to the above point, Polzin notices two examples of temporal shift in point of view that are directly reflected on the phraseological level of the text (p. 97). Noticing the shift of verbal form from the perfective to an imperfective of עבר in 3:17 and 4:10, Polzin insists that in Joshua 3, mobility, change, and transition are emphasised while Joshua 4 is focused on the stationary status of the ark and the priests (98-9).

Second, the shift of the narrator’s spatial point of view can also explain the incongruities of this story (Josh 3:1-5:1). According to Polzin, in 3:1-4:14 the narrator takes his perspective from the point of view of the Israelites entering the

⁴ There are some major textual differences between MT and LXX - Josh 3:12, 4:2, 4:11. We will discuss this in Chapters Three and Six.

land, but then in 4:15-5:1 he takes his narrating position from the point of view of a non-Israelite watching the progress of this miraculous procession (p. 101). For this purpose, he especially focuses on the second episode of 4:1-8. Noticing the threefold indication, 'from here,' 'from the middle of the Jordan,' and 'where the priests' feet stand firm,' Polzin asserts that, although it is not clear where Yahweh is while speaking to Joshua in 4:3, Joshua and the twelve men must be together with the priests, where he should command the men to carry the twelve stones to the camp (p. 99-100).⁵ Additionally, holding that in 3:1-4:14 the narrator looks at the Israelites from inside the promised land and in 4:15-5:1 from outside (p. 101), he tries to explain the discontinuity between those two parts.

His attempt to explain the text from a spatial point of view is closely related to his third attempt to understand it from a psychological point of view. According to Polzin, 3:1-4:14 is narrated from the perspective of the Israelites, who take part in the procession of crossing the Jordan and 4:15-5:1 from the invaded non-Israelites, who are observing this miraculous event.

Fourth, according to Polzin, the phraseological composition of this narrative, that is, the pattern of prediction/fulfilment, command/fulfilment, and prefiguration/fulfilment can also help to explain the intricacy of this text. Putting it another way, he argues that all three variations are repetitive structures of the type 'anticipation/confirmation.' He also says that the *antiphonal pattern* of the story mirrors the ritual nature of this narrative (p. 105).

Fifth, the ambiguities of this narrative cannot be resolved by only one of these elements. Polzin contends that the interrelationships between the various compositional planes (temporal, spatial, psychological, and phraseological analyses) offer important instances where the various surface planes of the story concur (p. 107). According to him, in this narrative there is no theme of God's justice and mercy.

⁵ Polzin again oversees some differences between the MT and the LXX in this verse. For this, see next Chapter Three and Six.

The issues are limited to the hermeneutic problems involved in the fulfilment of God's word (p. 110). Here, finally, he tries to explain the difficulty of the twelve stones set up in the middle of the Jordan in 4:9. He holds that even though it is forbidden to add, or take away from, what God commanded in Deut 13:1, the voice of 'critical traditionalism' neutralises the dogmatic voice of 13:1 and 'every interpretation of God's word is an adding to it or a taking away from it'. Thus, the stones Joshua set up in the Jordan without God's command are 'a testament to the necessity of change and mobility in the understanding, interpretation, and application of God's word' (p. 109).⁶

As we examined above, by using Russian literary theory, especially Uspensky's theory, Polzin adequately explains many of the complicated problems in the narrative of Josh 3-4. His attempt to read one of the most difficult and complex texts in the book of Joshua from the perspective of temporal, spatial, phraseological, and psychological aspects demonstrates the merit of synchronic methodology. His literary theory explains a lot of problems in this narrative comparatively well and defends the text plausibly.

However, his literary reading reveals some problems in understanding this text. In his study of this narrative, the temporal aspect is quite important. In addition, he regards the event of crossing the Jordan as a cultic procession based on the chronological contents in this narrative and 4:19 as we have seen in the previous section. Yet he fails to pay proper attention to the chronological discrepancy between 3:2 and 4:19, and by investing no hermeneutic energy into finding a solution, he stands at variance with his own understanding of this narrative. Problematically, he seeks to read the final form of this narrative as a literary unity without noticing the problems behind the text. Furthermore, Polzin claims that the shift from perfective to

⁶ Here again, Polzin does not pay attention to the difference between MT and LXX-Josh 4:9. We will discuss this further in Chapters Three and Six.

imperfective use of עבר in 3:17 and 4:10 signifies mobility, change and transition in Joshua 3 and the stationary status of the ark and the priests in Joshua 4. However, we learn that in 3:17 the ark and the priests are stationary and in 4:15-18 the priests come up from the water, which contradicts Polzin's argument. In fact, in his previous explanation of the shift of temporal point of view, he held that 4:11 anticipates 4:15-18 and emphasised the coming up of the priests and the ark. Therefore, even though his attempt to identify the temporal shift in verbal form is new, it is an oversimplified understanding of these two chapters.

Furthermore, his attempt to explain the incongruities of this story from the shift of the narrator's spatial and psychological point of view also has some weak points. Focusing on 4:1-8, Polzin holds that in 3:1-4:14 the narrator takes his position from the point of view of the Israelites entering the land, but in 4:15-5:1 from the point of view of a non-Israelite watching the miraculous procession. For this purpose, he especially focuses on the second episode of 4:1-8; however, the LXX does not support Polzin's theory.⁷ In addition to this critical issue, a careful reading of 4:10b-11 reveals that until all that Moses commanded was completed, the priests stood firm and the people crossed in a hurry. Although in 4:1-8 it seems that the people are already on the western side of the river, in 4:10b-11a they are in the middle of the Jordan with the priests while the commands are completed. There is a distinct discrepancy in a spatial point of view between these two sections.

Moreover, Polzin's position that 3:1-4:14 is narrated from the Israelites' perspective and 4:15-5:1 from that of the invaded non-Israelites, also reveals some problems. If we read 4:15-18 again, focusing on the dialogue between Yahweh and Joshua, the narrator describes the coming up of the priests from the perspective of Israel. In 4:19-24 also, noticing the communication between Joshua and the Israelite (You), the narrator explains the miraculous event of crossing the Jordan from the

⁷ We will discuss these text critical issues further in Chapter Three and Six.

Israelite perspective. The expression ‘all people on earth’, which Polzin argues shows a non-Israelite perspective, is that of the third person, which is referred to from an Israelite perspective. It is also difficult to hold that 5:1 is written from a non-Israelite perspective. In this part foreign kings are expressed in the third person form as ‘all the kings of the Amorites that were beyond the Jordan to the west, and all the kings of the Canaanites that were by the sea’. In 5:1, the Israelite narrator tries to highlight God’s power by the event of crossing the Jordan which would ultimately make Israel respect and fear Yahweh. The above points show that Polzin’s attempt to explain this text from a psychological perspective based on Uspensky’s literary theory is also problematic.

Thus, one must insist that his attempt to read 3:1-4:14 and 4:15-5:1 as a consistent and coherent text from temporal, spatial, and psychological points of view is quite implausible. The relationship between 3:1-4:14 and 4:15-5:1, especially that between 4:1-8 and 4:20-24 will be examined in Chapters Five and Six on literary history, in relationship with Exod 13:17-14:31. In addition, Polzin’s explanation of the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan and on the bank of the Jordan is insufficient. Holding that the stones Joshua set up in the Jordan without God’s command show the necessity of flexibility in understanding, interpretation, and application of God’s word, he makes a good attempt to explain the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan figuratively. However, his explanation cannot cover all the problems of the two different stone stories. He seems to evade the difficulties of these two parts in an allegorical way. The similar Hebrew expression to *וַיָּאֵר שְׁתֵּים עָשָׂרָה הָאֲבָנִים הָאֵלֶּה* in 4:9 appears in 4:20 (*וַיָּאֵר שְׁתֵּים עָשָׂרָה הָאֲבָנִים הָאֵלֶּה*). The stories of twelve stones at Gilgal and in the Jordan are remarkably different and 4:9 appears to have been added to this part by a redactor.⁸ Above all, one of the biggest problems in Polzin’s study is that he overlooks the text critical issues in this text. By not

⁸ This will also be discussed further in Chapters Three and Six.

considering the differences between the MT and the LXX in Josh 3-4 at all and by trying to apply a literary reading only from the final shape of the MT text instead, he fails to read properly this complex narrative.

In conclusion, Polzin seems to suggest an epoch-making direction to biblical research in order to understand and interpret the text as it is through literary reading. He applies his intricate methodology to Josh 3-4 and explains rather well a number of problems in this Jordan crossing story. However, he reveals some problems in attempting to explain the inconsistencies and discrepancies in Josh 3-4 *only* by synchronic literary reading and fails to understand the literary history behind the ancient document, especially by not considering the differences between the MT and the LXX. Therefore, one can concur that his study provides, as he says, a 'preliminary' basis for the understanding of a complex biblical text quite well. However, his study is limited in that he does not suggest any 'adequate' and 'diachronic' reading to be followed.

2.2. Hawk: *Every Promise Fulfilled*⁹

In his book *Every Promise Fulfilled*, Hawk also adopts a literary approach. He rejects using the traditional historical-critical methodology with its understanding of the book of *Joshua*'s 'incoherence as a consequence of a complex history of composition (pp. 15-6)'. By confining his reading to the plot, he tries to see more clearly the relationship between the configuration of the story and its tensions in order to develop a strategy for understanding them (p. 17). In tracing the plot(s) of *Joshua*, he tries to keep three levels of plot in mind: the framework, the arrangement of incidents and patterns, and the underlying structure which is to be understood in

⁹ L.D. Hawk, *Every Promise Fulfilled. Contesting Plots in Joshua*.

terms of the mind that does the organizing (p. 19).

According to Hawk, the dynamic quality of a plot is not limited to the text. The interpretive processes take place between text and reader, and the efforts to make concord between events appear on the reader's side. (pp. 26-7). He uses Paul Ricoeur's theory, which describes the operation of plot in terms of a three-fold mimesis: *mimesis*₁-prefiguration, *mimesis*₂ – emplotment, *mimesis*₃ – refiguration (p. 27). Hawk holds that by these three aspects, one can better understand the way a plot operates. The first reason is that plot offers a design, which shows the significance of each event and its relationship to the whole. (p. 28). Plot also supplies causality, which is the primary means of connection. Second, plots give time the impression of an ordered sequence of events and thus satisfy the human demand for coherence. (p. 32). Finally, a plot gives a clear sense of an ending - it leads events toward an end or resolution (p. 28). Utilizing Kermode's view of plot endings to enhance his examination, Hawk argues that the end supplies a destination for the configuration of events, a goal toward which the plot is directed. This movement toward the end provides the plot with its dynamism (p. 35).

Now, having described these three aspects of the plot, Hawk goes on to deal with some other elements. He says that all narratives contain some element of obscurity (p. 36) for pragmatic reasons: tension and suspense are important elements for capturing and holding a reader's interest. The feints and detours, the obstacles and indeterminacies are also parts of a plot that mirror our experience of the world in which answers and meanings are rarely explicit (36). Furthermore, Hawk introduces the notion of desire as 'a primary metaphor for understanding the operation of plot in Joshua' (p. 40). In reading Joshua, he is concerned with two fundamental questions: '[W]hat form does desire assume? ... [H]ow does desire shape the contours of its plots?' (p. 40). In order to answer these questions, he pays attention to the issues of explicit commentary on the story, to repetition of motifs and key terms, to the

presentation and resolution of the disruptive aspects of the story, and to the way the story is brought to a close (p. 40).

In chapters 3 to 6, Hawk gives his specific analysis of the plot of the book of Joshua. By paying attention to 'the conquest story of the land' (chapters 1-12), he starts to apply his theory to the book of Joshua (p. 43). Hawk argues that the two summary texts on victories in Northern Canaan (11:12-5) and conquests west of the Jordan (11:16-23) present 'the configurational agenda which characterizes the entire book (p. 43)'. The tension here is between a desire to depict Israel's complete success on the one hand, and disruptive information which reports significant failures on the other (p. 51). By this, Hawk identifies two different kinds of plots: *ostensive plots* and *opposing plots* (p. 53). Ostensive plots orient the story 'in the direction of fulfilment'. The ostensive plot is that of obedience and integrity. Unlike the former, opposing plots are composed of 'dissonant patterns which oppose the movement toward fulfilment'. The type of opposing plot is that of disobedience and of fragmentation (p. 53). Overall, Hawk contends that the dynamic created by ostensive and opposing plots is a struggle to gain mastery over textual dissonances so that concordance may be established and the desired end achieved (p. 53).

The story of Rahab is a good example of the distinctiveness of his idea. While modern scholars have viewed Rahab in a positive light (p. 60), Hawk maintains that Rahab, a woman of Canaan and a prostitute, plays a threatening role towards Israel in this book (p.61). Hawk sees the story of Rahab as evidence of disobedience to Yahweh's command that all the inhabitants of Canaan be destroyed by Israel. At the same time, according to Hawk, the story of crossing the Jordan shows the plot of obedient Israel as it enters the land to obtain Yahweh's promise (p. 71). The episodes of Achan and the Gibeonites also show the two conflicting lines, which 'compete and move the text along, mirroring the contest between Israel and Canaan' (p. 92). These stories oscillate between obedience and disobedience, and in

the process create a sense of ambiguity and tension about the fulfilment of the promise (p. 93).

Hawk also discusses the plot in terms of integrity and fragmentation. According to him, the plot of integrity points to the desired end of fulfilment and rest in the land. A fragmenting plot, however, leads to a different end - an end in which Israel fails to possess all the promised land. This plot is apparent by disruptive notes about the presence of non-Israelite peoples within the borders of Israel. The disruptions of this fragmenting counter-plot are distinct throughout Joshua 13-21 (p. 100).

Furthermore, Hawk discusses the endings and ambiguity in the Book of Joshua. He asserts that in a story's ending, conventionally, patterns are completed, connections between events clarified, and tensions resolved. However, as Joshua moves toward a conclusion, tensions are actually intensified, not diminished. In the final part of the book (Joshua 22-24), these discords are finally given explicit expression, and the contest of plots moves into the foreground (p. 117). Here, Hawk introduces the structuralist analyses of Polzin and Jobling on the report of the eastern tribes' return and their erection of an altar. They show that a concern with the integrity of Israel is operative at a deeper level (p. 120). In Polzin's view, the central problem of the narrative is the question of who belongs to Israel. Jobling also notes that the episode is really concerned with the integrity of Israel and that building the altar is therefore disobedient as well as divisive (p. 121). According to Hawk, the altar is an ambiguous symbol. The book of Joshua concludes with a short appendix, a series of burial reports (24:29-33) (p. 138). The closure of the book of Joshua comes with the death of Joshua and ostensibly affirms the fulfilment of desire; an obedient Israel is now settled in the land (p. 139). However, the end of the ostensive plots is not entirely successful in bringing about the sense of an ending. The many examples of transgression, division, and apathy, as well as the predictions of Joshua and Moses,

point out that the ending yet resides in the future (pp. 139-40). The gap between fulfilment and unfulfilment challenges the reader and exposes the desire for coherence and satisfaction (p. 140).

In his concluding chapter, Hawk concentrates on the nature of the book of Joshua, especially from the perspective of *desire*. He maintains that within the context of the story, Israel's clear desire is for the land (p. 141). However, as soon as she enters the land, she begins to succumb to its temptations (p. 143). Yahweh's desire is for Israel, especially for her loyalty. This desire appears throughout the narrative and is apparent in Yahweh's endurance; even though Israel breaks some prohibitions, Yahweh nevertheless continues to aid Israel. The narrator's desire appears to be an ending that affirms an obedient Israel dwelling without rivals in the promised land. Yet the narrator also supplies instances of Israel's disobedience and fragmentation, often immediately after affirmations of success or obedience. These metaphors become increasingly difficult as the story develops. (pp.143-44).

According to Hawk, such operation of plots in the book of Joshua mirrors one's own investment in coherent representations of reality. An ostensible framework is provided, incoherences are repeatedly countered, and an affirmative ending is offered. Hawk insists that the operation of plot in Joshua, in a sense, reflects the difficulty of applying dogma to the experience of life (p. 145).

Hawk pays some attention to Josh 3-4 and tries to apply his theory to this narrative. Explaining the elements of plot and the plot as design, Hawk contends that Josh 3-4 is an allusion (and the account of Israel's crossing the Jordan contains many allusions, implicit and explicit) to the Exodus and events on Mount Sinai. In connection with the crossing of the Reed Sea, the narrator expands the meaning of the present Jordan crossing in its current context. The experiences of the present generation of Israelites, for example, are connected with those of their parents and

their ancestors. The narrator makes these linkages by thematic allusions to Sinai (the erection of twelve stones, the three days' wait, the call to consecration), by speeches (Joshua's connection of the crossing of the Reed Sea and the Jordan) (pp. 29-30).

Next, Hawk observes the portrait of the obedient Israel in this narrative. According to him, '... Israel crosses the Jordan in strict obedience to the words of Moses...' (p. 71): This story counters the portrait of the disobedient Israel in Josh 2 by the most powerful image of strict obedience to the words of Moses. This episode is structured by a detailed command/execution framework which reinforces and advances the plot of obedient Israel. At various points in this narrative, Joshua gives commands and instructions (or Yahweh gives commands through Joshua), and the narrator describes the execution of these commands. The obedience of Israel is also stressed by the ark of the covenant, which is given central place in the narrative. As Israel follows the ark, the symbol of Yahweh's leadership, into the Jordan, its obedience is likewise symbolized and affirmed. The drying up of the Jordan and the return of the waters by the entrance and departure of the ark confirm again the connection between Israel's obedience and the successful appropriation of the promise of the land; a connection which Joshua explicitly confirms in 3:10-13 (pp. 71-2). Here, like Polzin, Hawk also pays attention to the Hebrew verb, עבר, but in different ways. The root עבר, which means 'to cross over or through', occurs 20 times in Joshua 3 and 4. Of course, given the context, its general meaning is not surprising. However, the word can also mean a darker crossing - the transgression of the covenant with Yahweh (Josh 7:11, 13; 23:16; Judg 2:20, 2 Kgs 18:12). Its repetition, therefore, is a reminder that the disobedience of Israel concerning Rahab still causes tension between God and Israel and is still to be resolved (p. 72).

Furthermore, the narrative of crossing the Jordan symbolizes the desire for integrity. Hawk maintains that in the account of the Jordan crossing (3:1-4:24) the struggle between integrity and fragmentation is apparent. The crossing is undertaken

by 'all Israel' (3:1, 7, 17; 4:14), 'the entire nation' (3:17; 4:1, 11). Israel must enter the land as one unit, even if it should be divided later so that some may return to the Transjordan (p. 94). The event of crossing the Jordan also symbolizes Israel's transformation into a nation of ordered people. Hawk argues that by crossing the Jordan, Israel moves from the place of chaos to the place of order (p. 95). However, the sense of integrity is muddled by the way in which the narrative describes this event, which is apparent in the erection of the twelve stones.¹⁰ He asks:

[h]ow many events does the narrative refer to, one or many? And where is the memorial? At Gilgal? In the middle of the Jordan? (p. 96).

He continues to say that, textually speaking, the fact that the Jordan is crossed not once but many times is more significant. Instead of describing the crossing in a straightforward way, the narrator appears to take the reader back and forth across the Jordan (p. 96). The many textual crossings of the Jordan introduce ambiguity. This move is accomplished by the shift of perspective, by emphasizing 'the other side'. The movement back and forth across the Jordan blurs its function as a boundary (p. 97).

In the Jordan crossing, the reader encounters an apparently climactic event in which Israel shows complete accord with Yahweh. However, incoherence and incongruity continue in this narrative, creating a sense of ambiguity and disorientation. The episode reaches its conclusion, not by a straightforward and purposeful advance, but in an intermingled way filled with intricacies and repetitions. Beneath the surface of the text the contesting plots of integrity and fragmentation push the narrative towards disparate conclusions (p. 98).

¹⁰ Hawk admits that '[n]owhere is the confusion more apparent than in the erection of the twelve stones' (p. 96).

Like Polzin's synchronic perspective, examined above, Hawk also suggests new directions for research on the book of Joshua. Hawk explains the difficulties and complexities of the book by applying literary theory and paying attention to the conflicting plots: conquest and compromise, obedience and disobedience, integrity and fragmentation, endings and ambiguity. Here, his research is quite practical in comparison with the old historical reading. He does not try to harmonise and resolve those inconsistencies, but just holds that the plot tensions show the difficulty of applying dogma to the experience of life. His study is quite plausible, but does not appear to satisfy readers who want a clear literary closure of the book of Joshua.

Hawk does not provide a detailed analysis of every unit in the book of Joshua. He only focuses his study on the units closely related with his main concern of contesting plot. He also supplies a rather unique interpretation of a particular unit, with which others would sometimes not agree.

His reading also shows some similarities with Polzin's and in some parts seems to be based on his work. Both of them make use of literary theory when interpreting a biblical text. Though Polzin borrows the methodologies from the Russian structuralist and formalist literary interpretation theories, Hawk mainly focuses his study on the way the plot functions, in explaining the endings and ambiguity in the book of Joshua, Hawk introduces the structuralist theory of Polzin. Therefore, Hawk's approach seems to have had some contact point with Polzin's structuralist theory. As well as that, they both use a specific hermeneutic method: Polzin uses Gadamer's theory and Hawk employs Paul Ricoeur's theory. However, more than anything else, they are very much similar in that both of them focus on how Moses' law, especially חרם, is applied in the book of Joshua. Of course, there is some partial difference in how Polzin understands the success and failure in the application of חרם from the perspective of God's justice and mercy, whereas Hawk looks upon them as the difference between obedience and disobedience, and

fulfilment and lack of fulfilment. Polzin expresses the relationship between fulfilment and lack of fulfilment of Moses' law as the difference between authoritative dogmatism and traditional criticism. Hawk understands it from the perspective that applying dogma to one's life is difficult. These two opinions are the converse of each other, in that authoritative dogmatism demands the perfect application of dogma in life, whereas traditional criticism recognises a gulf between dogma and life.

Hawk applies his general plot-focused approach in the book of Joshua to the complex narrative of crossing the Jordan and has some merit in understanding this text in the context of contesting plot. However, he shows some limitations in reading this narrative: first, he seems to be greatly indebted to Polzin. Hawk pays attention to a detailed command/execution framework. Polzin also applied the framework of prediction/fulfilment, command/fulfilment, prefiguration/fulfilment to understand Josh 3-4. Hawk shows some interest in the Hebrew verb, עבר, as does Polzin. But his explanation is quite extraordinary. It remains to be seen whether other scholars will agree with his argument that עבר can also mean a darker crossing - the transgression of the covenant with Yahweh and reminds us of the disobedient Israel in the previous episode of Rahab. He also pays attention to the repetition of crossing the Jordan by the shift of perspective, which appears to be influenced by Polzin's temporal, spatial, phraseological, and psychological shift in perspective. Second, he does not suggest any clear explanation of this complex narrative, especially regarding the two different stories of the twelve stones in the middle and at the brink of the Jordan. He explains this complex story as a symbol of integrity. The sense of integrity is, however, confused by the conflicting reports of the whereabouts of the twelve stones. Hawk asks some important questions regarding where the memorial is and how many events the narrative refers to, but he does not provide any solution to

them. Third, he does not consider the differences between the MT and the LXX at all, but applies his literary method only to the final form of the MT. Like Polzin, this is another limitation of Hawk's plot based approach. We will discuss this further in Chapters Three and Six.

2.3. Mitchell: *Together in the Land: A Reading of the Book of Joshua*¹¹

Mitchell begins his study on the book of Joshua by highlighting a puzzling contradiction. According to him, in the book of Joshua there are, on the one hand, commands to slaughter all of the inhabitants of the land, descriptions of complete destruction and statements recording the success of the conquest; on the other hand, Rahab's family, the Gibeonites and others continue to live in the land (p. 13). Presenting a brief recent research history on the book of Joshua, Mitchell holds that his methodology could relate the mutually contradictory references concerning foreigners to each other in the context of the whole book, while, at the same time, accounting for the history behind the text (p. 17). Unlike most other scholars, his study concentrates on the manner in which the narrative is developed within the compositional framework (p. 18). Mitchell divides his study according to the contradiction of the text: in chapters 1 to 5 he first deals with the statement '[t]hey occupy the land and all of them are to be killed', then in the second part (from chapter 6 to 8), with 'Some survive' (p. 19).

Mitchell argues that in the first five chapters of Joshua (1:1-5:15) there is a gradual introduction of warlike themes, even though little attention is paid to the nations occupying the land which Israel is to conquer (p. 22). He goes on to say that these themes express Israel's attitude to the aliens in their midst: the nations are to be

¹¹ G. Mitchell, *Together in the Land. A Reading of the Book of Joshua*.

engaged in battle and eliminated from the land (p. 22). Mitchell examines words relating to battles, especially the meanings of *חרם*. In the Assyrian annals, complete annihilation is usually related to punishment for rebellion whereas sometimes the victors show mercy on the defeated enemy (p. 54). However, even though there are parallels between *חרם* and the language of destruction in the annals, the meaning of *חרם* in the narrative of Joshua is quite different (p. 54). Quoting H.W.F. Saggs', Mitchell holds that the battle reports in the Hebrew Bible, especially when *חרם* is used, express brutality quite differently from the literature of the surrounding nations (pp. 54-55).

In chs. 6 and 7 of Joshua also, *חרם* is the key concept and is first used to describe the complete destruction of Jericho and its inhabitants. However, if it is considered in the context of ch. 7, it denotes a test of obedience (p. 81). According to Mitchell, the survival of Rahab and her family is in contrast with the destruction of Achan as well as with the destruction of Jericho (p. 81).¹²

Mitchell looks at the compositional structures connecting the battle reports in Josh 8:30-12:24. According to Mitchell, the repetitive form 'and he did to city B and its king as he had done to city A and its king' signifies the connection of the stories of total destruction (p. 83). However, the pace of conquest suddenly slows down in the stories of Mount Ebal and results in the trickery of the Gibeonites and the covenant (p. 98). The story of the Gibeonites is similar to that of Rahab, in which the word *חרם* is first mentioned (p. 86). Mitchell notices that although attention has been paid to destroying the enemy, there is a discernible shift of focus in chs. 11-12 to the occupation of the land itself, and the language of ch. 1 returns (p. 98). In this part, the main theme is taking the land in the sense of it becoming Israel's inheritance (p. 94).

¹² Mitchell argues that '... [in] the stories of the defeat of the Israelites at Ai and the thorough destruction of Achan, Israel is treated no differently from the occupants of the land. ... This conclusion is unavoidable because of the symmetry between the narratives concerning Rahab the Canaanite and Achan the Israelite' (p. 82).

Then, Mitchell pays attention to two somewhat contradictory statements in chs. 13-21: '(1) the period of warfare is over; and (2) there has been a partial failure to conquer and settle' (p. 99). These statements constitute the major theological reflection in chs. 13:1-23:1. Mitchell contends that while the contradiction between statements of complete conquest and incomplete conquest is accounted for as the result of a variety in the source or redactional contribution, this problem cannot be easily solved until it is possible to relate it to the contradictions in the compositional structure of the book of Joshua as a whole (p. 109).

Moreover, Mitchell examines the destruction and loss of the land: one important aspect of the conclusion of the book of Joshua, which presents the possibility that Israel could experience the same fate as the nations who lived in Canaan before the Israelites (p. 110). The concluding three chapters warn that illicit worship will result in the failure of the conquest, and Israel will share the fate of the nations (p. 119).

In the second half of his book Mitchell explores expressions related to the enemy nations in the land. In chs. 1-12 the nations are mentioned as those who are to be exterminated. In order to stress the conflict and thoroughness of destruction, the nations are described in comprehensive categories, 'all the inhabitants of the land', 'Canaanites' or 'Amorites'. Lists of nations or kings also appear. The expression כל-יְשֵׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ is unique to the book of Joshua for denoting the totality of nations. According to Mitchell, in the DtrH, they are used as a particular category of nations - the pre-Israelite occupants of the land. They serve as the opponents of YHWH and are symbols of all that Israel must avoid (pp. 140-41). However, in chs. 13-22, the nations are listed as individuals shattered in the course of settlement (p. 137). Their loss of power and glory is made obvious by the fact that they are no longer mentioned in association with their kings (p. 141). Subsequently, in the last two

chapters of Joshua, the language returns to comprehensive titles such as 'all the enemies' (כל־האֹיִבִּים), 'all the nations' (כל־הַגּוֹיִם), and 'all the peoples' (כל־הָעַמִּים). Therefore, the expressions relating to the nations are carefully provided in the overall narrative. Each major shift is constituted by a complementary change in the formulas denoting the nations (p. 141).

Mitchell also examines some important verbs, to which other prominent scholars pay little attention (p. 144). According to Mitchell, hearing (שָׁמַע) plays an important role in the compositional and theological structures of Joshua. Usually in the book of Joshua, the nations hear (שָׁמַע) and fear (יָרָא), but Israel sees (רָאָה) and knows (יָדַע) (pp. 144-48). However, the reverse case also happens: sometimes the nations know, and Israel hears and fears.

Then, Mitchell closely examines the contrast between the nations' dwelling in Israel's midst and their complete destruction. Here, he surveys all the notes to designate the role of the nations that remain in the midst of Israel: Rahab, the Gibeonites, the Geshurites and Maacathites (13:13), the Jebusites (15:63), the Canaanites of Gezer (16:10), Bethshean, Ibleam, Dor, Endor, Taanach, Megiddo and all their villages (17:12-13). The contrast between the pre-Israelite nations in Israel's midst and their complete destruction is a feature of all the references to the nations which remain (p. 184). The two contrasting elements are closely related.

In his conclusion, Mitchell reveals that his reading of Joshua focuses on the role of the nations. In the book of Joshua they are prominent, both in the compositional structures and in the stories themselves. The survival of some of the nations is in tension with God's command to destroy all the inhabitants of the land, and further serves to focus attention on the nations (p. 185). Furthermore, he argues that the juxtaposition of these ideas is a feature of the compositional arrangement in Joshua (p. 188). Moreover, חָרַם can also be understood in the light of the ambiguity. The ambiguities in the Rahab and Gibeonite stories become a feature of the conquest

in general when the stories are considered in the context of the overall narrative (p. 189). The Rahab and Gibeonite stories clearly present both the command to destroy the nations, as well as the fact of their partial survival (p. 190). In the last part, Mitchell tries to solve these ambiguities by introducing the concept of 'dream' and 'reality'. There is a dream of a land that is occupied by only one, holy nation. However, the inescapable reality is that foreigners remain. The narrative moves between 'dream' and 'reality'. The narrative is an attempt to reconcile the desire for a land free from foreigners and from the challenge of living together with others in the promised land.¹³

Mitchell refers to the crossing of the Jordan briefly as part of the gradual introduction of warlike themes into the narrative (p. 22). He argues that the lengthy and slow-moving account of the river crossing dominates the early chapters. While, in Joshua 1, the conquest is symbolized by the prefigured river crossing, here the emphasis is on the crossing itself (p. 40). Even though he is not interested in source critical approaches, he presents Otto's two source account of this literary puzzle, which argues that one group of the 12 representatives come from the east bank and the stones are set in the Jordan, while the other group of the 12 representatives who were already on the west bank remove the stones from the river and set them up on the west bank. This is an example of the symmetrical relationship between Cisjordan and Transjordan that occurs throughout the book of Joshua (pp. 40-1). However, by simply mentioning that by means of repetition the river crossing itself is stressed (p. 41), he evades examining the history of this literary composite and moves on quickly to another topic. Comparing this narrative to many other passages in the Hebrew Bible such as Pss 24; 33:7; 65; 74; 89; 104:8-9; 114; Gen 1:9; Isa 51:10; etc., which

¹³ Mitchell contends that '[f]or a people living under colonial rule, tales set in a distant age before they have been alienated from their land, and which describe the death of the kings, offer a vision of the future which makes the present bearable. A powerless people is able to find consolation' (p. 190).

deal with crossing and with *primaeval* waters, he maintains that the crossing means a shift, an entrance into an ordered world while leaving behind the wasteland of chaos (p. 41). He also pays attention to the miraculous character of the crossing. According to him, the Lord alone is the cause of events. This is supported by the parallel drawn with the Reed Sea crossing in Josh 4:21-24 (p. 42). Thus, the connection with the Reed Sea crossing serves to emphasize the miraculous character of the Jordan crossing in which miracle is understood in its liturgical and mythological dimensions (p. 43). Then, his concern is focused on the relationship between the cultic and the military in the river crossing. He holds that 3:10, in which the enemy is briefly mentioned, links the successful river crossing with the Lord's forthcoming successful defeat of the occupants of the land (p. 44). Verse 5:1, in which fear on the part of the occupants of the land is referred to, further serves to introduce a military mood to the narrative. The sense of battle is also suggested in 3:5, in which, prior to the crossing, the Israelites are told to sanctify themselves. Mitchell holds that this is a preliminary feature of the holy war. According to him,

...the amount of attention devoted to the crossing itself suggests that it cannot simply be likened to the first of the battles or understood as the first stage of conquest, but is a description of the conquest as a whole (p. 45).

As we saw above, Mitchell's research is unique in that his study is focused on the compositional framework of the book of Joshua. Mitchell's study is also different from that of Polzin and Hawk in that he pays attention to the holy war, whose form is similar to the Assyrian annals while its use in the Hebrew text is different. He also provides at points analyses of some important Hebrew vocabulary related to war.

However, his study seems to oversimplify the book of Joshua by just

focusing on the contradictory statement ‘they occupy the land and all of them are to be killed, but some survive’. He also reads the book of Joshua from the perspective of the application of חרם as Polzin and Hawk do. Even although his position does differ from that of Polzin and Hawk in the sense that Mitchell understands the gap between the full application of חרם and its failure as the difference between ‘dream and reality’, it seems to be indebted to that of Polzin, who understands it as the difference between authoritative dogmatism and traditional criticism, and that of Hawk, who understands it as the difficulty of applying dogma to the daily lives of people. Authoritative dogmatism dreams of the perfect application of dogma to the real life, but traditional criticism stresses the impossibility of it. Furthermore, even though he assumes a DtrH, he does not explain who Dtr is and what the relationship is between Joshua and the other former prophets.

Mitchell also notes the problems of repeated and different reports of the river crossing in the text of Josh 3-4. However, he does not appear to succeed in applying his general theory to this narrative because his interest is limited to the question of whether this narrative is cultic or military, and evades other issues. By just quoting Otto’s opinion on the two different references to the stones in the middle of the Jordan and at the bank of the Jordan, which seem to be from two different materials, he fails to provide his own explanation of them. Moreover, Mitchell shows his limitations by reading the narrative only from the final form of the MT.

2. 4. Winther-Nielsen : *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua*¹⁴

Winther-Nielsen tries to demonstrate a textual and thematic unity in the book of Joshua from a unique direction. He applies modern linguistic theory and

¹⁴ N. Winther-Nielsen, *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua: A Computer-assisted Rhetorical Structure Analysis*.

methodology to the analysis of ancient Hebrew grammar and text. Winther-Nielsen's book *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua* has brought significant progress in the application of linguistics to the description of Biblical Hebrew grammar and narrative structure.

According to him, diachronic and synchronic readings before him share a common trait of linguistic inadequacy (p. 10). Therefore, there is an urgent need for a new textual analysis of Joshua based on solid linguistic norms (p. 10). His study proposes a functional grammar for Hebrew, which explains linguistic rules and principles in terms of their functionality (p. 1). This functional grammar begins with a structural syntax emptied of meaning, as well as with generative semantics loaded with interpretation (p. 14). It has a discourse-pragmatic orientation in the sense that it is interested in the sequencing and placing of atomic propositions within a wider communicative context. These grammatical elements are brought together within a theory of discourse grammar (p.1). In order to deal with clause connections within a whole book, Winther-Nielsen uses a computer-assisted description of relations between clauses and an analysis of rhetorical structure among the related regions of text (p. 1). Although he pays attention to some scholars' argument of the variations between the MT and the LXX, he suggests that the MT should be used for grammatical analysis, and only obvious scribal errors should be corrected prior to that analysis (pp. 21-2).

Winther-Nielsen offers a model for discourse-pragmatic analysis within a functional grammar. He maps the territory by developing his linguistic theory. Functionalism and discourse-pragmatics have been increasingly placed at the heart of linguistic study because of the growing awareness of the communicative aspects of language by scholars (p. 29).¹⁵ Functional grammar posits some major levels of

¹⁵ Winther-Nielsen says that '[f]unctional grammar is a pragmatic theory which assumes that the mutual knowledge shared by senders (S) and addressees (A) shapes their communicative interplay ...'. This communicative use of language also affects its view of discourse as 'the record (text) of a dynamic process in which language was used as an instrument of communication in a context by a speaker / writer to express meanings and achieve intentions (discourse)' (p. 29).

grammatical organization: intraclausal, interclausal, and discourse levels (p. 32). First, at the intraclausal level, a functional grammar must account for how semantics and pragmatics influence the syntactic structure of the clause (p. 33). This can be explained by semantic relations between types of verbs and nouns: the internal clause-syntax is decided by to what extent certain types of predicates (mainly verbs) dominate the semantic functions of their co-occurring arguments (mainly nouns) (p. 33). Then, the theory of the layered structure of the clause explains the internal structure of the Hebrew predicate (p.44) and the function of the Hebrew verb at the intraclausal level (p.52).

Second, at the interclausal level, functional grammar recognises three main domains of cross-clausal grammar: clause combining, participant reference and temporal sequencing of predicates (p. 53). No clause is totally independent on its immediate clausal context and the strands of discourse coherence always entail some grammatical concomitants in clause-combining syntax (p. 53). Other interclausal links depend on pragmatic or rhetorical relations within the sentences (p. 62). Referential coherence also ties connected chains of clauses together by references to participants or themes (p. 62). The key issues are how referents are made active in memory and context, at which level they occur, and how prominent they are in subsequent discourse (p. 63). Another major strand of interclausal information is made up by sequential coherence, or action-event sequencing of predicates. (p. 70). In Hebrew, the system of sequential coherence is fundamentally formed by *wayyiqtol*-clause chaining, and its corollary in chain initial, medial and final constructions (pp. 73-4).

Third, the final level to be considered in the discourse-pragmatic grammar is discourse organization (p. 79). The grammatical analysis of discourse organization is mainly a matter of the segmentation of larger stretches of discourse into chunks or spans of connected text and ‘...the relations of such parts to the whole and of the

parts to each other' (p. 79).¹⁶ Pragmatic rhetorical analysis contributes to discourse analysis. The Rhetorical Structure Theory describes how texts are organised beyond grammatical mechanisms of interclausal linkage and coherence. It presents an independent, user-oriented and descriptive basis for the analysis of clause combining and textual coherence (pp. 87-8). It offers an independent pragmatic procedure for the discovery of grammatically or lexically unmarked relationships. It can be used to check which regions of a text present the topics of the discourse (p. 96). A computer-assisted syntactic analysis can carry out the pragmatic analyses of Rhetorical Structure Theory in order to check the structural description of interclausal relations (p. 96). It analyses related pieces of information successively upwards in the grammatical hierarchy from morpheme to text. The analyses are composed of five stages: morphological analysis, semantic analysis, phrase structure analysis, clause division and clause relations (p. 97). In this research, a grammar of Joshua can benefit from a carefully checked phrase structure database with clause demarcation added. Clause combining computer programs can then work out the syntactic hierarchical relations (p. 101).

After employing the illustration of the linguistic theories and the analytical strategy, Winther-Nielsen closely examines the narrative of Joshua 2 in order to demonstrate the coherence of rhetorical relations, interclausal syntax and thematic unity. One noticeable point in his argument regarding Joshua 2 is that this story is an exception to the policy of the extermination of foreigners in Moses' law (p. 162).

Winther-Nielsen applies the same techniques to investigate a larger section of the text, Joshua 3-8, with special attention to the episode structure, the internal grammatical coherence and the thematic role of dialogue. According to him, the discourse markers of 5:1 (וַיְהִי כַשְׁמֶע כָּל-מַלְכֵי) and 9:1 (וַיְהִי כַשְׁמֶע כָּל-מַלְכִּים) separate the

¹⁶ According to Winther-Nielsen, '...discourse organization can be explained in the terms of the grammar of macrostructure, constituent structure, superstructure, peak structure and dialogue structure. Discourse grammar assumes that semantic discourse structure is syntactically varied for pragmatic purposes' (p. 87).

story of the crossing of the Jordan (Josh. 3:1-4:24) from the stories of the circumcision and Passover celebration at Gilgal (5:2-12) and the stories of Jericho (5:13-6:26) and the story taking place at Ai (6:27-8:29) (p. 165). According to Winther-Nielsen, the thematic statement in the story of Jericho is that everything should be dedicated to Yahweh (17b) (p. 210). Like the other holistic readers, he pays attention to the application of חרם. He argues that the case of Rahab and her family (17b-c) is an exception from חרם: their lives were spared as the spies swore (p. 210). The above mentioned stories have quite similar features. Long instructions in dialogue (3:2-5, 6-13; 6:2-5, 6-10; 7:3, 6-15, 8:1-9) follow their initiating stages (3:1; 5:13; 6:27-7:1). Each of them has double peaks describing the marvellous crossing of the Jordan, the miraculous conquest and cunning battle tactics (3:14-17; 4:18; 6:16-20b, 20c-21; 8:13b-16, 17-24). All of them end in distinct time closures (4:19-24; 6:26; 8:28-30) (p. 235). However, the stories also differ in their plots and thematic macrostructures. The Jordan story has an elaborate flashback (3:1, 2-5) and an inter-peak episode of stone picking (4:1-10). The divine commander story (Josh 5:13-15) heralded the Jericho incident (Josh 6). The introductory stage of the Ai story is a thematic preview that leads to the embedding of the stories of the defeat (7:2-5) and of the execution of Achan (7:6-25) (p. 235).

Winther-Nielsen tries to apply the procedures and the validity of his findings in Joshua 2-8 to the structure of the whole Book of Joshua (p. 241). Through his constituent analysis, he highlights the significance of the main boundary markers placed by the aging of Joshua (13:1; 23:1). Accordingly, the book of Joshua is divided into three episodes: the conquest (1:9-12:24), the distribution (13:1-22:34) and the covenant (23:1-24:28), framed by stage and closure (p. 264). The constituent structure of the total work can also account for the role of several minor parts (p. 264). Winther-Nielsen contends that the coherence of the book of Joshua can be

supported by its constituent structure.¹⁷

He pays special attention to the grammatical functions of the Hebrew verb, especially in relation to the aspects. There are two aspectual features in Hebrew verbal morphology: perfectivity and sequentiality (pp. 277-278). The combination of these aspectual features produces four finite forms: *qatal*, *yiqtol*, *wayyiqtol*, and *w^eqatal*. Hebrew has four sub-systems of syntactic chaining through the clustering of *wayyiqtol* (N¹⁸), *w^eqatal* (D¹⁹), *w^eqatal* (lists) and *w^eyiqtol* (D) in descending order of priority (p. 283). Grammatical results of discourse organization and interclausal coherence are useful in tracing the thematic aspects of the book of Joshua and its superstructure (p. 293). The opening paragraph in Josh 1:1-9 and the closing story in Josh 24:29-33 influence the whole ideological perspective of the discourse in Joshua (p. 293). Winther-Nielsen holds that the theme of Joshua's servanthood of Moses, God and obedience sets the framework for the themes of conquest, distribution and lifelong success. The promise and fulfilment is the driving power for Joshua's service in a Mosaic fashion (p. 296). According to Winther-Nielsen, the linguistic key expressions show the central themes in the book of Joshua : עבר 'cross' (1:2b), 'I have given' (3a), נבולכם 'your border' (4b) and לא-יחיצב איש לפניך כל ימי חיך 'nobody shall hold stand against you all the days of your life' (5a) (p. 316).

In conclusion, Winther-Nielsen maintains that most previous diachronic readings of the book of Joshua are irrelevant for grammatical analysis – inconclusive at best and invalid at worst. However, the linguistic reading of Joshua presents more

¹⁷ He says that '[t]he closure of the conquest discourse in Joshua 12 has a mirror-image in the East Jordanian tribal allotment in the stage of the distribution (13:7b-14:5). Together they form a tail-head linkage between the two major episodes of Joshua. The latter unit previews the dismissal of the eastern tribes and the return to their lot in the closure of the distribution (22:1-34). The closure in Joshua 22 with convocation of tribes and a speech on obedience by Joshua is also strikingly similar to the stage of the covenant episode in Joshua 23. The distribution-address (22:1-8) and the covenant-address (23:1-15) thus form a second discourse-level tail-head linkage. Finally, the covenant episode of Joshua 23-24 can be viewed as a unity pervaded by didactic dialogue discourse. As a final episode on loyalty, it brings central themes of the completed conquest and distribution to a forceful conclusion' (p. 264).

¹⁸ N: Narrative.

¹⁹ D: Discourse.

important challenges for us to face in our extant data and to push genetic matters aside for quite some time. The synchronic investigations often supply close-readings that are relevant from a linguistic point of view. Modern readings should look for the linguistic structure of the text by writers in specific situations (p. 326). Finally, Winther-Nielsen says that

the most interesting aspects of a functional discourse grammar is that it enables the linguist to establish the textual integrity and thematic unity of individual stories, groups of connected stories and complete works (p. 326).

Unlike his explanation of Joshua 2, Winther-Nielsen does not seem to involve himself greatly in the explanation of Joshua 3-4. But he does try here to apply functional discourse grammar to read this complex story. According to him, 5:1, which refers to the terror-stricken Canaanites, is an introduction to the following story, also a tail-head linkage in line with 2:24, and does not belong to the story of the crossing of the Jordan (p. 165). First, he examines the boundary markers in order to analyse the structure of this narrative. According to him, וישכם יהושע בבקר (3:1a) clearly marks the opening of a new discourse (p. 172). He argues that ²⁰הוא וכל בני ישראל in 3:1 broadens the agent reference to include all the Israelites following the restricted focus of Joshua 2, and the shift of verb form to plural, and the syntax are not awkward (p. 173). A time reference ויהי in 3:2a opens the first episode. Moreover, ויאמר is used as a boundary marker in 3:6a (Ep 2), in 4:15a (Ep 6), 3:14a (Ep 3), 4:1a (Ep 4)²¹, and in 4:11a (Ep 5) are also markers of episode boundaries opened by ויהי. Thus, the grammatical evidence for episode boundaries divides Joshua 3-4 as follows: The March to Jordan (3:1, stage), Preparatory orders (3:2-5, Ep1), Crossing Orders (3:6-13, Ep 2), Descent (3:14-17,

²⁰ However, LXX does not represent this phrase.

²¹ Only MT-Josh 4:1a represents this word.

Ep 3), Orders regarding the stones (4:1-10, Ep 4), Crossing lead (4:11-14, Ep 5), Emerging on the other side of water (4:15-18, Ep 6), Arrival at Gilgal (4:19-24, closure) (p. 175).

Furthermore, Winther-Nielsen pays attention to the problem of the internal consistency of this narrative. According to him, following Polzin's way of tracing a temporal thread, or a 'chain of representative events' is one way to argue for the coherence of the story (p. 175). Then he applies discourse grammar to explore the continuity of this story (p. 176). His analysis is especially focused on 3:14-17. He argues that this section anticipates miracle by commenting that the Jordan overflows during the time of harvest (p. 177). Verse 4:18 has structural similarities with this section. In the episode of the return of the waters, the heightened grammar twists the action into descriptive mode (p. 178). Both 3:14-17 and 4:18 describe miraculous situations with dramatic pauses that occur at the climaxes (179). Winther-Nielsen contends that the coherence of Joshua 3-4 is shaped stylistically by miraculous high points in 3:14 and 4:18, and by grammatical repetition in 4:9-10 and 4:11-15 (p. 182). Additionally, he spends some time explaining the two stories of the stones in the middle of the Jordan and on the other side of the Jordan. According to him, these two stories are not dissimilar. In 4:9a, no new information is added.²² It just stresses that Joshua was ultimately responsible for erecting the stones in Gilgal (p. 181).

After his efforts to plot the episodes and their internal coherence, Winther-Nielsen tries to trace the themes elaborated in the dialogue structure (p. 182). Here, noting Polzin's observation on the 'anticipation/confirmation' structure, he applies discourse-pragmatics by paying attention to the use of highly marked dialogue introducers (p. 183). In conclusion, he argues that a functional discourse grammar discloses a unified structure, a clear sequence of events and a strong conquest theme in Joshua 3-4. According to him, a discourse grammar can support the readings of

²² Here, Winther-Nielsen does not pay attention to the differences between MT and LXX-Josh 4:9.

this narrative in its original or final shape (p. 190).

As with other synchronic readers, Winther-Nielsen's application of functional discourse appears to make good attempts to establish the textual integrity and thematic unity of the book of Joshua. By closely analyzing the grammar, syntax, and rhetorical issues of the Hebrew text, and by applying solid linguistic norms and modern linguistic theory, Winther-Nielsen makes a significant contribution to the literary study on the book of Joshua.

However, in his linguistic analysis, it is sometimes unclear whether his claims are based on general linguistic theory or on specific Hebrew syntax. He also does not provide enough grammatical examples, other than those of Joshua. If he had offered more Hebrew evidence in chapter 2, his theory might have been more persuasive. Moreover, it is not certain whether he succeeded in establishing the textual integrity and thematic unity of the book of Joshua, because even to understand his theory is difficult, let alone to examine whether it is applied properly. In addition, like other holistic readers (Polzin, Hawk, Mitchell), Winther-Nielsen also notices the extermination policy of foreigners in Moses' law in the book of Joshua and pays attention to the application of חרם.

Winther-Nielsen's general approach seems to be applied to the literary composite of Josh 3-4 properly at some points. By paying attention to whether a functional grammar can explain some of the complexity and support the unity of the story by an analysis of constituents, coherence and content, he examines the story of crossing the Jordan in Josh 3-4 and proposes a unified and sequential structure as a whole plausibly.

However, he does not suggest a plausible explanation of the two different descriptions of the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan and on the other side of the Jordan. He just ambiguously contends that the Jordan stone story highlights that

Joshua was ultimately responsible for erecting the stones in Gilgal and that these two stories are not dissimilar. Yet, if we read 4:9 and 4:20-24 closely, there are stones set in the middle of the Jordan and also stones at the bank of the Jordan.

His study also has some similarities to that of Polzin, and sometimes he seems to be indebted to him. Like Polzin, he analyses the story of crossing the Jordan by dividing the narrative into episodes. He also pays attention to a temporal thread, or chain of representative events to argue for the unity of this story in the same way as Polzin does.²³ By paying attention to dialogue introducers, another dimension of discourse-pragmatics, Winther-Nielsen tries to trace the themes elaborated in the dialogue structure, and seems to get some insight from Polzin. To explain dialogue and theme structure in this narrative, Winther-Nielsen quotes Polzin's 'command/fulfilment' (Polzin 1980:104) and "anticipation/confirmation" structures "as the working out of an antiphonal pattern" (Polzin 1980:105) (pp. 182-183).

In addition, Winther-Nielsen also reveals some limitations in that he does not note the differences between the MT and the LXX in this narrative and only tries to read in a linguistic and literary way only in the final form of the MT.

2.5. Conclusion

Synchronic studies by Polzin, Hawk, Mitchell, and Winther-Nielsen have suggested a new and interesting direction in the research of the book of Joshua. In their view, while diachronic scholars divide the text, classify layers of material, and reconstruct the text rather impetuously, they value and respect the text. Initially, they do their best to understand what this ancient text means, even when the meaning is difficult to determine. This seems to be the merit of their methodology .

²³ Winther-Nielsen quotes Polzin's view (Polzin 1980:95-97) closely in his explanation of the coherence and style structure of Josh. 3:1-4:24 (1995: 175-176).

However, no less than the diachronic critics, their approaches also seem to be quite divergent. Although Polzin, Hawk, Mitchell, and some of Winther-Nielsen's works have similarities, mainly in that the others are indebted to Polzin, their methodologies and the results of their studies are quite different from one another. Since each uses a rather different technical terminology, it is not clear to what extent they can speak to each other. They seem to speak past each other, so they would need an interpreter before they can come into dialogue. The divergency and the intricacy of their investigations are not so different from those of diachronic studies. They also show difference in chapter division: Polzin and Mitchell attach 5:1 to the Jordan crossing story, but Hawk and Winther-Nielsen to the stories of circumcision and Passover celebration at Gilgal.²⁴ Furthermore, even though Polzin explained the complex narrative of Joshua 3-4 from various aspects and dimensions quite well, others' approaches are quite trivial, being focused on just some narrow point, while failing to cover every problem in this literary composite. Besides, even Polzin, to whom others are indebted and whose study on this narrative is better than that of the others, does not supply a clear explanation of the two different descriptions of the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan and at the bank of the Jordan. In addition, his research is limited insofar as he does not pay attention to the differences between the MT and the LXX, but reads only from the final form of the MT. Although Polzin does not disparage diachronic research and says that synchronic study must come first, he does not offer any diachronic attempt on Joshua 3-4. If so, what sort of diachronic work on Josh 3-4 should follow Polzin's synchronic efforts? In the next chapter, we will investigate some text critical issues in this complex narrative.

²⁴ For this, see next chapter.

Chapter Three

Polzin and Text Critical Analysis on Joshua 3-4¹

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we examined some notable synchronic readings by Polzin, Hawk, Mitchell, and Winther-Nielsen, and looked at the strengths and weaknesses of their methodologies regarding the complex narrative of Joshua 3-4. Through the examination above, we have come to know that Polzin uses one of the best methodologies to explain a number of complicated problems in this text. Nevertheless, his study has limitations in that he applies his literary method to this narrative only from the final shape of the MT text. How could the result be different if he read from the final form of the LXX text?

In this chapter, we will investigate the differences between MT and LXX of Joshua 3-4 through text critical analysis and examine the limitations of Polzin's synchronic study in reading only from the final text of MT. First, we will try to note differences between the major Greek editions (Margolis, Rahlfs, and Auld) and retrovert Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX. Second, through text criticism, we will analyse the differences between MT and LXX, and investigate the cause(s) of these differences. Furthermore, we will study the limitations caused by Polzin's lack of attention to the text of LXX.

¹ The later division attached Josh 5:1 to the previous chapter. The noun 'dry ground' (יבשה) in 4:22 is related to the verb 'dried up' (היבש) in 4:23; 5:1; and some could hold that this shows 5:1 is linked with 4:22-24. However, the older marginal division of B starts a new section here (see A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 121). Furthermore, this kind of unity by the Canaanite kings introduces a new narrative in Joshua 9. Thus, 5:1 seems to belong to the circumcision and the keeping of the passover (5:2-12).

3.2.Text Critical Analysis of Joshua 3-4

3.2.1. LXX,^B Retroversion of LXX Vorlage, and MT of Josh 3-4

	LXX ^B -Josh3-4 (ed. Auld)	Retroversion of LXX <i>Vorlage</i> Josh 3-4	MT-Josh 3-4
3 ¹	καὶ ὠρθησεν Ἰησοῦς τὸ πρωί καὶ ἀπῆρεν ¹⁾ ἐκ Σαττειν ²⁾ καὶ ἦλθοσαν ἕως τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ κατέλυσαν ἐκεῖ πρὸ τοῦ διαβῆναι	וישכם יהושע בבקר ויסע מהשמים ויבאו עדהירדן וילנו שם טרם יעברו: ס	וישכם יהושע בבקר ויסעו מהשמים ויבאו עדהירדן הוא וכל־בני ישראל וילנו שם טרם יעברו:
3 ²	καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας διῆλθον οἱ γραμματεῖς διὰ τῆς παρεμβολῆς	ויהי מקצה שלשת ימים ויעברו השטרים בקרב המחנה:	ויהי מקצה שלשת ימים ויעברו השטרים בקרב המחנה:
3 ³	καὶ ἐντετείλαντο τῷ λαῷ λέγοντες ὅταν ἴδητε τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἡμῶν ¹⁾ καὶ τοὺς Λευεῖτας ²⁾ αἴρונτας αὐτήν ἀπαρεῖτε ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ὑμῶν καὶ πορεύεσθε ³⁾ ὀπίσω αὐτῆς	ויצו את־העם לאמר כראותכם את ארון ברית־יהוה אלהינו וכהנינו והלויים נשאים אתו חסעו ממקומכם והלכתם אחריו	ויצו את־העם לאמר: כראותכם את ארון ברית־יהוה אלהיכם והכהנים הלויים נשאים אתו ואתם תסעו ממקומכם והלכתם אחריו:
3 ⁴	ἀλλὰ μακρὰν ἔστω ἀνὰ μέσον ἡμῶν ¹⁾ καὶ ἐκείνης ὅσον δισχιλίους πήχεις στήσεσθε μὴ προσεγγίσητε αὐτῇ ἵν' ἐπίστησθε τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύεσθε ²⁾ αὐτήν οὐ γὰρ πεπόρευσθε τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπ' ἐχθρῶν καὶ τρίτης ἡμέρας	אך רחוק יהיה בינינו ובינו כאלפים אמה תעמדו אל־תקרבו אליו למען אשר־תדעו את־הדרך אשר תלכו־בה כי לא עברתם בדרך מתמול שלשום: ס	אך רחוק יהיה ביניכם ובינו כאלפים אמה במדה אל־תקרבו אליו למען אשר־תדעו את־הדרך אשר תלכו־בה כי לא עברתם בדרך מתמול שלשום: ס
3 ⁵	καὶ εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς τῷ λαῷ ἀγνίσασθε εἰς αὔριον ὅτι αὔριον ποιήσει ἐν ἡμῖν ¹⁾ Κύριος θαυμαστά	ויאמר יהושע אל־העם התקדשו למחר כי מחר יעשה יהוה בקרבנו נפלאות:	ויאמר יהושע אל־העם התקדשו כי מחר יעשה יהוה בקרבכם נפלאות:
3 ⁶	καὶ εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἄρατε τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου καὶ προπορεύεσθε τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἦραν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου καὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ	ויאמר יהושע אל־הכהנים שאו את־ארון ברית יהוה ועברו לפני העם וישאו הכהנים את־ארון ברית יהוה וילכו לפני העם: ס	ויאמר יהושע אל־הכהנים לאמר שאו את־ארון הברית ועברו לפני העם וישאו את־ארון הברית וילכו לפני העם: ס

	λαοῦ		
3 ⁷	καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος πρὸς Ἰησοῦν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἄρχομαι ὑψῶσαί σε κατενώπιον πάντων υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἵνα γινῶσιν καθότι ¹⁾ ἤμην μετὰ Μωυσῆ οὕτως ἔσομαι καὶ μετὰ σοῦ	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֶחָל גְּדֹלְךָ בְּעֵינַי כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר יִדְעוּן כִּי כֹאֲשֶׁר הָיִיתִי עִם־מֹשֶׁה כֵּן אֶהְיֶה נָם עִמָּךְ:	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֶחָל גְּדֹלְךָ בְּעֵינַי כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר יִדְעוּן כִּי כֹאֲשֶׁר הָיִיתִי עִם־מֹשֶׁה אֶהְיֶה עִמָּךְ:
3 ⁸	καὶ νῦν ἔντειλαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς αἵρουσιν τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης λέγων ὥς ἂν εἰσέλθῃτε ἐπὶ μέσου ¹⁾ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ στήσῃσθε	וַעֲתָה תַצִּוֶה אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים נְשֵׂאֵי אֲרוֹן־הַבְּרִית לֵאמֹר כִּבְאֲכֶם עַד־קְצָה מִי הִירְדֹן וּבִירְדֹן תַּעֲמְדוּ: ס	וְאַתָּה תַצִּוֶה אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים נְשֵׂאֵי אֲרוֹן־הַבְּרִית לֵאמֹר כִּבְאֲכֶם עַד־קְצָה מִי הִירְדֹן בִּירְדֹן תַּעֲמְדוּ: פ
3 ⁹	καὶ εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ προσαγάγετε ὧδε καὶ ἀκούσατε τὸ ῥῆμα Κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ¹⁾	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל נָשׁוּ הִנֵּה וּשְׁמַעוּ אֶת־דְּבַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל נָשׁוּ הִנֵּה וּשְׁמַעוּ אֶת־דְּבַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:
3 ¹⁰	ἐν τούτῳ γινώσῃσθε ὅτι θεὸς ζῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ὀλεθρεύων ὀλεθρεύσει ἀπὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν ¹⁾ τὸν Χαναναῖον καὶ τὸν Χετταῖον καὶ τὸν Φερεζαῖον καὶ τὸν Ευαῖον καὶ τὸν Αμορραῖον καὶ τὸν Γεργεσαῖον καὶ τὸν Ιεβουσαῖον	בְּזֹאת תִּדְעוּן כִּי אֵל חַי בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְהוֹרֵשׁ יוֹרֵשׁ מִפְּנֵינוּ אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְאֶת־הַחִתִּי וְאֶת־הַפְּרוֹזִי וְאֶת־הַחִתִּי וְאֶת־הַנֶּגְשִׁי וְהָאֱמֹרִי וְהַיְבוֹסִי:	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּזֹאת תִּדְעוּן כִּי אֵל חַי בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְהוֹרֵשׁ יוֹרֵשׁ מִפְּנֵיכֶם אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְאֶת־הַחִתִּי וְאֶת־הַפְּרוֹזִי וְאֶת־הַנֶּגְשִׁי וְהָאֱמֹרִי וְהַיְבוֹסִי:
3 ¹¹	ἰδοὺ ἡ κιβωτὸς διαθήκης κυρίου πάσης τῆς γῆς διαβαίνει τὸν Ἰορδάνην	הִנֵּה אֲרוֹן ¹⁾ בְּרִית אֲדֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ עָבַר בִּירְדֵּן:	הִנֵּה אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית אֲדֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ עָבַר לִפְנֵיכֶם בִּירְדֵּן:
3 ¹²	προχειρίσασθε ὑμῖν δώδεκα ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἕνα ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς	קָחוּ לָכֶם שְׁנֵי עֶשֶׂר אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ־אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטוֹ:	וַעֲתָה קָחוּ לָכֶם שְׁנֵי עֶשֶׂר אִישׁ מִשְּׁבָטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ־אֶחָד לְשִׁבְטוֹ:
3 ¹³	καὶ ἔσται ὥς ἂν καταπαύσωσιν οἱ πόδες τῶν ἱερέων τῶν αἰρόντων τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης κυρίου πάσης τῆς γῆς ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐκλείψει τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ καταβαλῖνον στήσεται	וְהָיָה כִּנּוּחַ רַגְלֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים נְשֵׂאֵי אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית אֲדֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ בְּמִי הִירְדֵּן מִי הִירְדֵּן יִכְרְתוּן הַמַּיִם הַיֹּרְדִּים יַעֲמְדוּ:	וְהָיָה כִּנּוּחַ רַגְלֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים נְשֵׂאֵי אֲרוֹן יְהוָה אֲדֹן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ בְּמִי הִירְדֵּן מִי הִירְדֵּן יִכְרְתוּן הַמַּיִם הַיֹּרְדִּים מִלְּמַעְלָה וַיַּעֲמְדוּ נָד אֶחָד:
3 ¹⁴	καὶ ἀπῆρην ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων αὐτῶν	וַיִּסַּע הָעָם מֵאֶהְלֵיהֶם	וַיִּהְיֶה בִּנְסַע הָעָם מֵאֶהְלֵיהֶם

	διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰορδάνην οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ἤρσαν τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης ¹⁾ πρότεροι τοῦ λαοῦ	לעבר את־הירדן והכהנים נשאו את־ארון הברית לפני העם:	לעבר את־הירדן והכהנים נשאו הארון הברית לפני העם:
3 ¹⁵	ὥς δὲ εἰσεπορεύοντο οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ αἵροντες τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην καὶ οἱ πόδες τῶν ἱερέων τῶν αἱρόντων τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου ἐβάφθησαν εἰς μέρος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ὃ δὲ Ἰορδάνης ἐπλήρου καθ' ὅλην τὴν κρηπίδα αὐτοῦ ὥσεί ἡμέραι θερισμοῦ πυρῶν	וכבוא הכהנים נשאי ארון הברית עדי־הירדן ורגלי הכהנים נשאי ארון ברית יהוה נטבלו בקצה מי הירדן והירדן מלא על־כל־גדותיו כימי קציר חטים:	וכבוא נשאי הארון עדי־הירדן ורגלי הכהנים נשאי הארון נטבלו בקצה המים והירדן מלא על־כל־גדותיו כל ימי קציר:
3 ¹⁶	καὶ ἔστη τὰ ὕδατα τὰ καταβαίνοντα ἄνωθεν ἔστη πῆγμα ἓν ἀφεστηκὸς μακρὰν σφόδρα σφοδρῶς ἕως μέρους Καθιαιρεῖν ¹⁾ τὸ δὲ καταβαῖνον κατέβη εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν Αραβα θάλασσαν ἄλός ἕως εἰς τὸ τέλος ἐξέλιπεν καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἰστήκει ²⁾ ἀπέναντι Ιερειχω ³⁾	ויעמדו המים הירדים מלמעלה קמו גד־אחד הרחק מאד מאד העיר אשר מצד קרית יערים והירד ירד על ים הערבה ים־המלח עד־תם נכרת והעם עמדו נגד יריחו:	ויעמדו המים הירדים מלמעלה קמו גד־אחד הרחק מאד מאד העיר אשר מצד צרתן והירדים על ים הערבה ים־המלח תמו נכרתו והעם עברו נגד יריחו:
3 ^{17a}	καὶ ἔστησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ αἵροντες τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου	ויעמדו הכהנים נשאי ארון ברית־יהוה בחרבה בתוך הירדן: ס	ויעמדו הכהנים נשאי הארון ברית־יהוה בחרבה בתוך הירדן הכן וכל־ישראל עברים בחרבה עד אשר־תמו כל־הנוי לעבר את־הירדן:
3 ^{17b}	καὶ πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ διέβαινον διὰ ξηρᾶς ἕως συνετέλεσεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς διαβαίνων τὸν Ἰορδάνην	וכל־בני ישראל עברים בחרבה עד אשר־תמו כל־העם לעבר את־הירדן:	כל־הנוי לעבר את־הירדן:
4 ¹	καὶ ἐπεὶ συνετέλεσεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς διαβαίνων τὸν Ἰορδάνην καὶ εἶπεν Κύριος τῷ Ἰησοῖ λέγων	ויהי כאשר־תמו כל־העם לעבור את־הירדן ויאמר יהוה אליהושע לאמר:	ויהי כאשר־תמו כל־הנוי לעבור את־הירדן פ ויאמר יהוה אליהושע לאמר:
4 ²	παραλαβὼν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἕνα ἀφ' ἑκάστης φυλῆς	קח לך אנשים מן־העם איש־אחד משבט:	קחו לכם מן־העם שנים עשר אנשים איש־אחד איש־אחד משבט:

4 ³	σύνταξον αὐτοῖς καὶ ¹⁾ ἀνέλεσθε ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Ιορδάνου ἐτοιμούς δώδεκα λίθους καὶ τούτους διακομίσαντες ἅμα ὑμῖν καὶ ²⁾ αὐτοῖς θέτε αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδίᾳ ³⁾ ὑμῶν οὗ ἔάν παρεμβάλητε ἐκεῖ τὴν νύκτα	וצוה אותם ושא מתוך הירדן הכין שתים-עשרה אבנים והעברתם אותם עמכם ואותם הנחתם אותם במלון אשר-תלינו בו הלילה:	וצוה אותם לאמר שאי-לכם מזה מתוך הירדן ממצב רגלי הכהנים הכין שתים-עשרה אבנים והעברתם אותם עמכם והנחתם אותם במלון אשר-תלינו בו הלילה: ס
4 ⁴	καὶ ἀνακαλεσάμενος Ἰησοῦς δώδεκα ἄνδρας τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἕνα ἀφ' ἐκάστης φυλῆς	ויקרא יהושע אל-שנים העשר איש אשר הכין מבני ישראל איש-אחד משבט:	ויקרא יהושע אל-שנים העשר איש אשר הכין מבני ישראל איש-אחד משבט:
4 ⁵	εἶπεν αὐτοῖς προσαγάγετε ἔμπροσθέν μου πρὸ προσώπου Κυρίου εἰς μέσον τοῦ Ιορδάνου καὶ ἀνελόμενος ἐκεῖθεν ἕκαστος λίθον ἀράτω ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ	ויאמר להם עברו לפני לפני יהוה אל-תוך הירדן והרימו משם איש אבן אחת לשאת על-שכמו למספר שנים עשר שבטי ישראל:	ויאמר להם יהושע עברו לפני ארון יהוה אלהיכם אל-תוך הירדן והרימו לכם איש אבן אחת על-שכמו למספר שבטי בני-ישראל:
4 ⁶	ἵνα ὑπάρχωσιν ὑμῖν οὗτοι εἰς σημεῖον κείμενον διὰ παντός ἵνα ὅταν ἐρωτᾷ σε ὁ υἱός σου αὐριον λέγων τί εἰσιν οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ὑμῖν	למען תהיה זאת אות בקרבכם תמיד כִּי-ישאלך בנך מחר לאמר מה האבנים האלה לכם:	למען תהיה זאת אות בקרבכם כִּי-ישאלון בניכם מחר לאמר מה האבנים האלה לכם:
4 ⁷	καὶ σὺ δηλώσεις τῷ υἱῷ σου λέγων ὅτι ἐξέλιπεν ὁ Ιορδάνης ποταμός ¹⁾ ἀπὸ προσώπου κιβωτοῦ διαθήκης κυρίου πάσης τῆς γῆς ὡς διέβαινεν αὐτόν καὶ ἔσονται οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι ὑμῖν μνημόσυνον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος	ואחה אמרת לבנך לאמר אשר נכרת מי הירדן מפני ארון ברית-אדון כל-הארץ בעברו והיו האבנים האלה לזכרון לבני ישראל עד-עולם:	ואמרתם להם אשר נכרתו מימי הירדן מפני ארון ברית-יהוה בעברו בירדן נכרתו מי הירדן והיו האבנים האלה לזכרון לבני ישראל עד-עולם:

4 ⁸	καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ καθότι ἐνετείλατο κύριος τῷ Ἰησοὶ καὶ λαβόντες δώδεκα λίθους ἐκ μέσου τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καθάπερ συνέταξεν κύριος τῷ Ἰησοὶ ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τῆς διαβάσεως τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ διεκόμισαν ἅμα ἑαυτοῖς εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ ἀπέθηκαν ἐκεῖ	ויעשו־בן בני־ישראל כאשר צוה יהוה אל־יהושע וישאו שתי־עשרה אבנים מתוך הירדן כאשר דבר יהוה אל־יהושע בתם בני־ישראל לעבר ויעברום עמם אל־המלון וינחום שם:	ויעשו־בן בני־ישראל כאשר צוה יהושע וישאו שתי־עשרה אבנים מתוך הירדן כאשר דבר יהוה אל־יהושע למספר שבטי בני־ישראל ויעברום עמם אל־המלון וינחום שם:
4 ⁹	ἔστησεν δὲ Ἰησοῦς καὶ ἄλλους δώδεκα λίθους ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ἐν τῷ γενομένῳ τόπῳ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἱερέων τῶν αἱρόντων τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου καὶ εἰσιν ἐκεῖ ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας	ושתיים עשרה אבנים אחרים הקים יהושע בו בירדן תחת מצב רגלי הכהנים נשאי ארון ברית יהוה ויהיו שם עד היום הזה:	ושתיים עשרה אבנים הקים יהושע בתוך הירדן תחת מצב רגלי הכהנים נשאי ארון הברית ויהיו שם עד היום הזה:
4 ¹⁰	ἰσθήκεισαν ¹⁾ δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ αἱρόντες τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ἕως οὗ συνετέλεσεν Ἰησοῦς πάντα ἃ ἐνετείλατο κύριος ἀναγγεῖλαι τῷ λαῷ καὶ ἔσπευσεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ διέβησαν	והכהנים נשאי ארון הברית עמדו בירדן עד אשר כלה יהושע את־כל אשר־צוה יהוה לדבר אל־העם וימהר העם ויעברו:	והכהנים נשאי הארון עמדו בתוך הירדן עד תם כל־הדבר אשר־צוה יהוה את־יהושע לדבר אל־העם ככל אשר־צוה משה את־יהושע וימהרו העם ויעברו:
4 ¹¹	καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς συνετέλεσεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς διαβῆναι καὶ διέβη ἡ κιβωτὸς τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου καὶ οἱ λίθοι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν	ויהי כאשר־תם כל־העם לעבור ויעבר ארון ברית יהוה והאבנים לפני־הם:	ויהי כאשר־תם כל־העם לעבור ויעבר ארון יהוה והכהנים לפני־העם:
4 ¹²	καὶ διέβησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ρουβην καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Γαδ καὶ οἱ ἡμίσεις φυλῆς Μανασση διεσκευασμένοι ἔμπροσθεν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καθάπερ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς Μωσῆς	ויעברו בני־ראובן ובני־גד וחצי שבט המנשה חמשים לפני בני ישראל כאשר דבר אליהם משה:	ויעברו בני־ראובן ובני־גד וחצי שבט המנשה חמשים לפני בני ישראל כאשר דבר אליהם משה:
4 ¹³	Τετρακισμύριοι εὗζωνοι εἰς μάχην διέβησαν ἐναντίον Κυρίου εἰς πόλεμον πρὸς τὴν Ἱερειχω ¹⁾ πόλιν	ארבעים אלף חלוצי הצבא עברו לפני יהוה למלחמה אל עיר יריחו:	כארבעים אלף חלוצי הצבא עברו לפני יהוה למלחמה אל ערבות יריחו: ס

4 ¹⁴	ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤρξατο κύριος τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐναντίον παντὸς τοῦ ¹⁾ γένους Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ὥσπερ Μωυσῆν ὅσον χρόνον ἔζη	ביום ההוא גדל ²⁾ יהוה את־יהושע בעיני כל־עם ישראל ויראו אתו כאשר יראו את־משה כל־ימי חייו:	ביום ההוא גדל יהוה את־יהושע בעיני כל־ישראל ויראו אתו כאשר יראו את־משה כל־ימי חייו: פ
4 ¹⁵	καὶ εἶπεν κύριος τῷ Ἰησοῖ λέγων	ויאמר יהוה אל־יהושע לאמר:	ויאמר יהוה אל־יהושע לאמר:
4 ¹⁶	ἐντείλαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς αἵρουσιν τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης τοῦ μαρτυρίου Κυρίου ἐκβῆναι ἐκ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου	צוה את־הכהנים נשאי ארון ברית עדות יהוה ויעלו מן־הירדן:	צוה את־הכהנים נשאי ארון העדות ויעלו מן־הירדן:
4 ¹⁷	καὶ ἐντείλατο Ἰησοῦς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν λέγων ἐκβητε ἐκ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου	ויצו יהושע את־הכהנים לאמר עלו מן־הירדן:	ויצו יהושע את־הכהנים לאמר עלו מן־הירדן:
4 ¹⁸	καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐξέβησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ αἵροντες τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου καὶ ἔθηκαν ¹⁾ τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὥρμησεν τὸ ὔδωρ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατὰ χώραν καὶ ἐπορεύετο καθὰ ἐχθές καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν δι' ὅλης τῆς κρηπίδος	ויהי בעלות הכהנים נשאי ארון ברית יהוה מן־הירדן ¹⁾ ויתנו רגליהם על החרבה וישבו מן־הירדן למקומם וילכו כתמול־ששום על כל־גדותיו:	ויהי בעלות הכהנים נשאי ארון ברית יהוה מתוך הירדן נחקו ¹⁾ כפות רגלי הכהנים אל החרבה ונשבו מן־הירדן למקומם וילכו כתמול־ששום על כל־גדותיו:
4 ¹⁹	καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἀνέβη ἐκ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου δεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ πρώτου καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Γαλγαλοῖς κατὰ μέρος τὸ πρὸς ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ιερειχω ¹⁾	והעם עלו מן־הירדן בעשור לחדש הראשון ויחנו בני־ישראל בנגל בקצה מזרח יריחו:	והעם עלו מן־הירדן בעשור לחדש הראשון ויחנו בנגל בקצה מזרח יריחו:
4 ²⁰	καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα λίθους τούτους οὓς ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἔστησεν Ἰησοῦς ἐν Γαλγαλοῖς	ואת שנים עשרה האבנים האלה אשר ¹⁾ לקח מן־הירדן הקים יהושע בנגל:	ואת שנים עשרה האבנים האלה אשר לקח מן־הירדן הקים יהושע בנגל:
4 ²¹	λέγων ὅταν ἐρωτῶσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν λέγοντες τί εἰσιν οἱ λίθοι οὗτοι	לאמר אשר ישאלון בניכם אליכם לאמר מה האבנים האלה:	ויאמר אל־בני ישראל לאמר אשר ישאלון בניכם מחר את־אבותם לאמר מה האבנים האלה:
4 ²²	Ἀναγγεῖλατε τοῖς υἱοῖς ὑμῶν ὅτι ἐπὶ ξηρᾶς διέβη Ἰσραὴλ τὸν Ἰορδάνην τοῦτον ¹⁾	והודעתם את־בניכם ²⁾ כי ביבשה עבר ישראל את־הירדן	והודעתם את־בניכם לאמר ביבשה עבר ישראל את־הירדן הזה

4 ²³	<p>Ἀποξηράναντος Κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν¹⁾ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Ιορδάνου ἐκ τῶν²⁾ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν μέχρι οὗ διέβησαν καθάπερ ἐποίησεν κύριος³⁾ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν⁴⁾ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν ἣν ἀπεξήρανεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν⁵⁾ ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῶν ἕως παρήλθομεν</p>	<p>אשר-הוביש יהוה אלהינו אח-מי הירדן מפניהם עד -עברו כאשר עשה יהוה אלהינו לים-סוף אשר-הוביש יהוה אלהינו מפנינו עד-עברנו:</p>	<p>אשר-הוביש יהוה אלהיכם אח-מי הירדן מפניכם עד -עברכם כאשר עשה יהוה אלהיכם לים-סוף אשר-הוביש מפנינו עד-עברנו:</p>
4 ²⁴	<p>ὅπως γινώσιν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς ὅτι ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Κυρίου ἰσχυρά ἐστιν καὶ ἵνα ὑμεῖς σέβησθε κύριον τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν¹⁾ ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ²⁾</p>	<p>למען דעת כל-עמי הארץ אתיד יהוה כי חזקה היא למען יראתם אתם את-יהוה אלהינו בכל-מעשה: ס³⁾</p>	<p>למען דעת כל-עמי הארץ אתיד יהוה כי חזקה היא למען יראתם את-יהוה אלהיכם בכל-הימים: ס</p>

[Table 1]

3¹ 1). Margolis' edition of LXX-Joshua² represents ἀπῆρεν, but Rahlfs' manual edition of the book of Joshua in Greek³ ἀπῆραν. Rahlfs seems to be affected by the MT, which also attests to the third person plural form.

2) Margolis' edition follows the first scribal hand with Σαττειν, but Rahlfs' the second hand with the deletion of ε from Σαττειν.

3³ 1) Margolis represents ὑμῶν.

2) Rahlfs has Λευίτας. E has been removed secondarily in Rahlfs.

3) Margolis attests πορεύσεσθε. The σ in Margolis' edition alters present into future. This seems to be secondary editing.

3⁴ 1) Margolis and Rahlfs represent ὑμῶν.

2) Margolis πορεύσεσθε.

3⁵ 1) Margolis and Rahlfs ὑμῖν.

3⁷ 1) Margolis has ὅτι before καθότι.

² M.L. Margolis (ed.), *The Book of Joshua in Greek according to the Critically Restored Text with an Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Principal Recensions and of the Individual Witnesses*. (Publications of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation in Trust at the American Academy for Jewish Research). Part I-IV: Joshua 1:1-19:38. Paris 1931-38.

³ A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. Stuttgart 1935.

3⁸ 1) Margolis and Rahlfs represent μέρους.

3⁹ 1) Margolis represents ὑμῶν.

3¹⁰ 1) Margolis represents ὑμῶν.

3¹¹ 1) LXX has one long phrase here (ἡ κιβωτὸς διαθήκης κυρίου πάσης τῆς γῆς) and it is not easy to retrovert it into good Hebrew. Furthermore, the absence of the definite article before διαθήκης in LXX and its presence in MT makes it all the more difficult. For this, see the text critical analysis on this text below.

3¹⁴ 1) Rahlfs attests κυρίου after διαθήκης. He seems to be influenced by MT.

3¹⁶ 1) Margolis has Καριαθαῖν, and Rahlfs Καριαθιαριμ.

2) Margolis and Rahlfs corrected to εἰστήκει by inserting a small superscript ε.

3) Margolis attests Ἱερειχω, but Rahlfs Ἱεριχω.

4³ 1) Margolis attests Καὶ, but Rahlfs λέγων instead of καὶ. Rahlfs seems to be influenced by MT, which has נאם.

2) Rahlfs does not represent καὶ here.

3) Rahlfs follows the correction to στρατοπεδεία. The manuscripts have a small superscript E over the I. LXX used two different words στρατοπεδεία and παρεμβάλητε, which have military connotations, at the end of this verse, but MT has words במלח and חליו from the same root.

4⁷ 1) The Jordan is called a 'נהר' (ποταμός) in B as in 5:1, but MT has 'waters' in both passages. In Hebrew Joshua, as in Deuteronomy, נהר is used just for the 'great' river, the Euphrates.⁴ Thus, B seems to show free rendering here. In 5:1, B has the third person plural ἐτάκησαν and κατεπλάγησαν. This also appears to be caused by the Greek translator's free rendering of וימם לבבם.

4¹⁰ 1) Margolis and Rahlfs have corrected with the insertion of a small superscript ε (εἰστήκεισαν). Whatever the spelling, the pluperfect form in B, Margolis, and Rahlfs is different from that of MT, which has participle.

4¹³ 1) Ιεριχω in Rahlfs.

4¹⁴ 1) Margolis has a different word order του παντός.

2) MT uses the same verb גָּדַל as in 3:7. LXX uses a different word αὐξάνειν from ὑψώσαι in 3:7. While MT seems to emphasise the fulfillment of God's promise given in 3:7, LXX seems to give variety in expression by using different words. Once more in the LXX does it render Hebrew גָּדַל – concerning the Lord's exaltation of Solomon to the heights (2 Chron. 1:1).⁵

4¹⁸ 1) καὶ ἐθηκάν could be retroverted to וַיַּתֵּן instead of נָתַן in MT; for כָּפֹת is MT plus, וַיַּתֵּן רִגְלָיו would be the correct syntax.

4¹⁹ 1) Ιεριχω in Rahlfs.

4²⁰ 1) MT has the third person plural לָקְחוּ ('they took'), but LXX has the third person singular verb ἔλαβεν ('he took'). We can retrovert to לקַח in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX.

4²² 1) Margolis and Rahlfs do not attest this word.

2) MT represents לֵאמֹר but LXX ὅτι. Even though this similar pattern appears several times in 3-4, לֵאמֹר after וַיְהוֹדֶעְתֶּם is not common in Old Testament Hebrew. The Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX might have כִּי.

4²³ 1) ὑμῶν in Margolis.

2) του in Rahlfs.

3) ὑμῶν in Margolis.

4) ὑμῶν in Margolis.

4²⁴ 1) Margolis and Rahlfs have ὑμῶν.

2) Margolis represents καιρω, and Rahlfs χρόνῳ instead of ἔργῳ in Auld.

3) The only other occurrence of כל-מעשה in the book of Joshua is 24:31. כל-מעשה appears also in Num 31:20; Deut 11:7; 28:12; Judg 2:7; Ecc 8:17; 12:14; Hag 2:14, 17. בכל-מעשה as in OG *Vorlage*-Josh 4:24 in Deut 2:7; 14:29; 16:15; 24:19; 30:9; 2 Kgs 22:17; 2 Chr 31:21; Est 10:2. לכל-מעשה in Ecc 8:9. אֵת-כָּל-אֱלֹהֵי-מַעֲשֵׂה in Eze 16:30. וּבְכָל-מַעֲשֵׂה in Mic 6:16, etc.

⁴ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 114.

⁵ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 117.

3.2.2. Text Critical Study of Joshua 3-4

3 : 1 a. *and they set out* (ויסעו). The shift of subject from 'Joshua' to 'they' makes this verse a bit awkward. LXX^{BL} and Syr^A read as singular. The Egyptian group of texts supports these versions, which have Joshua only as the grammatical subject of 'set out.'⁶

b. *He and all the sons of Israel* (הוא וכל־בני ישראל). In LXX, this is lacking, while only בני ישראל (the sons of Israel) appears in Syriac.⁷ This expression, which describes the leader and all the Israelite people, is quite rare in the Old Testament. Only in Num 27:21 does this expression appear. The usual phrase is 'all Israel'.⁸ This is an MT plus, which tries to solve the clumsiness of this verse caused by the subject shift from the singular 'he got up early' to the plural 'they went...'.⁹

3. a. אלהיכם (your God). In contrast to MT, LXX^B has the inclusive θεοῦ ἡμῶν (our God) as do other parts in this narrative.

b. *the Levitical priests* (והכהנים הלויים). The Greek has ἡμῶν (our) after 'the priests' and καὶ between 'the priests' and 'the Levites'. Unlike MT, LXX, Targum and Syriac distinguish between them as in Chronicles.⁹ These versions clarify the division between the priests and Levites by inserting a conjunction (ו) between the two words. Butler holds that this understanding is later than that of Deuteronomy and the so-called Deuteronomistic History, which emphasizes only one Levitical priesthood.¹⁰ However, another possible reason for MT and B handling priests and levites differently in this verse is that 'levites' are a secondary addition to each. Vulgate supports MT (*et sacerdotes stirpis leviticae*). Van der Meer also backs up MT, arguing that the MT reflects the older Deuteronomistic conception in which priesthood and Leviticism are merged, whereas LXX shows the younger Priestly

⁶ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 102.

⁷ R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 156.

⁸ S. Holmes, *Joshua, the Hebrew and Greek Texts*, 22.

⁹ J.A. Soggin, *Joshua*, 47..

¹⁰ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 39.

conception in which priesthood is claimed for a specific group within the group of Levites.¹¹ However, the Greek also seems to understand them as a single group: the ark, and (carrying it) our priests and the levites. If so, one question this understanding has to face is why only the priests are called ‘our’. ‘Our priests’ is a rare biblical phrase, attested to only in Ezra 9:7, 34 and Neh 9:32; 10:1 in MT. Targum and Syriac stress the LXX distinction here and in 9:2. Likewise, Origen and Josephus follow LXX, but Josephus has the priest bear the ark, while the Levites carry the tent and sacrificial instruments.¹²

c. ואֶחָד Only MT represents this word.

4. a. *between it*. K^cthîbh reads וּבֵינֵי, but Q^crê וּבֵינֵי. In וּבֵינֵי the second *Yôdh* is critically doubtful. בֵּינֵי occurs three times only in the Masoretic Q^crê for בֵּינֵי.¹³

b. במִדָּה (‘by the measure’). LXX reads this word as στήσεσθε (*im^edû*). Moati-Fine assumes that MT במִדָּה misreads as a hitpael of עִמַּד.¹⁴ Yet, no one can find such a form in the Hebrew Bible, and the qal seems to make good sense; במִדָּה appears in Lev 19:35 and 2 Chron 3:3, but not as used here in MT. It would be safer to assume here a *Vorlage* different from MT.¹⁵

5. a. LXX represents εἰς αὔριον (‘for tomorrow’) after *sanctify yourselves* (הִתְקַדְּשׁוּ), which is not in MT. In Num 11:18 also, the rare ἄγρευς is used and Moses specifies “for tomorrow”. This link between LXX and Numbers seems to explain the literalness of the Greek rendering.¹⁶

b. בְּקִרְבְּכֶם (‘among you’). MT and most LXX witnesses have ‘you’, but LXX^B has ἐν ἡμῖν (in us), in which Joshua includes himself among the people.

6. לֹאמַר According to van der Meer, the Greek translator of the Hebrew Bible omitted this word to stylise the redundancy of the Hebrew word, since Greek

¹¹ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 77.

¹² A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 103.

¹³ E. Kautzsch. and A.E. Cowley (eds), *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1909), 304.

¹⁴ J. Moatti-Fine, *J'esus (Jesu'e). Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, Introduction et notes*; A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 104..

¹⁵ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 104.

¹⁶ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 104.

does not require an introduction to mark direct discourse similar to the Hebrew *לֵאמֹר*.¹⁷ He holds that this is a ‘strong evidence for the stylistic reorganisation of the Hebrew text by the Greek translator’.¹⁸ However, *וַיֹּאמֶר* *לֵאמֹר* after *וַיֹּאמֶר* is not usual. Rather, it would be plausible to follow Holmes’ suggestion that we have ‘strong evidence ... in support of the faithfulnesses of LXX’.¹⁹ This is an MT plus. For more of this, see below on 4:21.

7. The Piel form of the Hebrew verb *גָּדַל* corresponds to *αὐξάνω* (‘to increase’) in 4:14, but to *ὑψόω* (‘to exalt’) in 3:7, which is used only here in Joshua. The standard Greek translation of the Hebrew root *גָּדַל* is *μεγαλύνω* in the Greek Pentateuch and the rest of the Greek Old Testament.²⁰ Only LXX represents *וַיִּגְדַּל* (בָּנִי) after *kol* and lacks the counterpart of *כִּי*, initiating an object clause in this verse.

8. a. *וַיִּתְּחַת* LXX reads this as *וַיִּתְּחַת* (καὶ νῦν). The two terms had sounded alike, so a scribal mistake could have been made in dictation not from LXX side, but from MT side. V 12 represents *וַיִּתְּחַת*, which is MT plus. For more on this, see below on v 12. And at the end of the instructions for the priests, LXX represents *καὶ*, which seems to emphasise the following words.

9. a. *the words of Yahweh* (דְּבַרֵּי יְהוָה). LXX and Vulgate read singular (the word). Soggin plausibly maintains that ‘there may be a dittography: the *yod*, the early abbreviation for *yhwh*, was later confused with the suffix, at a time when the divine name was once again written out in full.’²¹

b. Here as well, LXX represents ‘our’ (θεοῦ ἡμῶν) instead of ‘your’ in MT. This seems to support the idea that the LXX is earlier than the MT. Because the idea to separate religious leadership from the people looks more developed and theologised.

10. a. *And Joshua said* (וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ). In LXX without these two words,

¹⁷ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 231.

¹⁸ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 232.

¹⁹ S. Holmes, *Joshua*, 6.

²⁰ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 184.

²¹ J.A. Soggin, *Joshua, OTL*, 48.

Joshua's speech continues directly.

b. *By this* (בִּזְאת). It is not clear what this word means. Butler holds that 'a conditional particle usually follows. [So] it is possible that the הנה clause opening v 11 introduces the apodosis here, but one could read v 10b as the apodosis.'²² For this, see Chapter Six.

c. מִפְּנֵיכֶם ('from before you'). By contrast, LXX has ἀπὸ προσώπου ἡμῶν (before our face). That Joshua includes himself among the people is typical in LXX as in v. 9.²³

d. The order of the list of the seven indigenous nations differs a little in the LXX and MT (cf. Gen 15:20; Exod 3:10; 13:5; 23: 23, 28; Num 13:29; Deut 7:1; 20:17; Josh 3:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11).

11. a. הברית *Zāqēp parvum*, which the Masoretes placed on this word, separates it from the word אֲדֹנָי ('the Lord'). Syr inserted 'Yahweh' after ברית. However, the question of the definite article (ה) in the MT cannot be easily solved. Furthermore, the lack of the article in many Greek witnesses is surprising for the opposite reason. According to Gray, this is 'an obvious Deuteronomic interpolation'.²⁴ Yet, Auld makes three necessary comments on v 11 in B: (a) an accidental omission of τῆς following the τὸς of καὶ τὸς is not impossible; (b) 'lord' here is not the divine name, but a common Hebrew noun; (c) if 'lord' is a common noun and part of a chain of nouns in a genitive phrase, then it and also the third member 'covenant' should also be preceded by the Greek article.²⁵ Den Hertog argues that the presence of a redundant article in the corresponding phrase in MT may let the absence of the definite article in B appear original. The interpretation of the Targum agrees with LXX.²⁶ The problem in MT seems to be caused by MT copyist's insertion of definite article, who thought the absence of it in the Hebrew

²² T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 39.

²³ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 106.

²⁴ J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, 62.

²⁵ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 106-7.

²⁶ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 107.

Vorlage of LXX was unusual. This verifies that LXX is earlier than MT. This verse also shows that textual and literary criticism are not divided, but complement each other. We will discuss this further in Chapter Six on literary history.

before you (לפניכם). LXX lacks this.

12. a. ועתה Some scholars insist that MT inserted this word to give some connection to a verse which is clearly out of place. However, it is not clear whether the interpolation of this word caused or corrected the clumsiness of this verse. We will consider the literary history of this verse in Chapter Six.

b. מושבתי LXX has מבני (ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν) for this. MT's term (שבטים, 'tribes') here may reflect greater theologisation. Auld has noted that tribal terminology is much more prevalent in MT than LXX within chapters 13-19, and has argued that this is a secondary development.

13. a. כפות In LXX, 'the soles of' does not appear as in 4:18. This is an MT plus.

b. מלמעלה ויעמדו נד אחד LXX represents only יעמדו. A scribe seems to have added these words from v 16 to make the two clauses correspond.

14. The beginning of verse 14 in LXX is slightly briefer than that in MT. Furthermore, the Hebrew of the MT is unusual: the opening formulaic 'and it came to be' is not resumed by any finite verb. The Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek should have been modelled on the beginning of the report in Num 10:33-36 regarding the departure of the people from the mountain of Yahweh, with the ark travelling in front of them. Subsequently, MT might have clumsily adapted that *Vorlage*, towards the opening of Num 10:35.²⁷ And, δε in LXX is copulative. This is the second on S. Sipilä's list of copulative uses of δε.²⁸

15. a. *those who bore the ark*. LXX includes the specific subject 'the priests' (οἱ ἱερεῖς).

²⁷ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 108.

²⁸ S. Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom*, 37.

b. *water*. LXX has εἰς μέρος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ Ιορδάνου ('to a part of the water of Jordan'). τοῦ Ιορδάνου is a Greek plus. The Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX could have 'Jordan' twice or it could have used *midrash*-like freedom.²⁹

c. *all the time of harvest*. The MT attests to one more Hebrew letter (כל ימי for כמי) and one less word ('wheat'). The supralinear addition in 4QJosh^b and the paraphrase of this passage in 4Qapocryphon of Joshua^b, also agree with LXX in specifying this harvest time as the period of the wheat harvest.³⁰ There seems to be exegetical variation from MT side. MT might have smoothed and generalised the harsh and specified reading of LXX.

16. a. בארם K^ethîbh reads בארם, but Q^erê מארם. LXX appears to read not מארם but simply מאר, 'extremely'. There is no agreed reading of v 16's geographical description between the MT and other versions. The textual diversities of this verse show the problem of the geographical location of Adam and the emphasis of the miraculous. Here textual history becomes exegetical history.³¹ The classical term πῆγμα ἕν is used to describe the stationary water, which appears only here in LXX. However, the cognate πηγματοῦ has appeared in Exod. 15:8 – and twice in the aorist form ἐπαγγ ('became congealed or solid').³²

b. LXX represents a Greek plus κατέβη ('came down').

17. a. הארין As v 11, this verse contains a grammatical anomaly with the article before the *nomen regens*.

b. הכן ('firmly'). This does not appear in LXX^{BA}. This is an MT plus, added as the last word of v 17.³³ For more on this word, see below on 4:3.

c. *all Israel*. LXX attests בני as v 7.

4:1 a. *When all the nation had finished passing over the Jordan*. LXX^B

²⁹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 107.

³⁰ K. Bieberstein, *Joshua-Jordan-Jericho*, 152-54.

³¹ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 40.

³² A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 109.

³³ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 110.

starts a new portion one half-verse earlier than the medieval western tradition in 3:17b. Codex Alexandrinus treats it as a single ‘verse’ exactly the western 3:17. The MT puts in פ in the middle of 4:1, recognising a break at this point. However, 4:1a is a repetition to sum up the crossing story of chapter 3 and pick up a new theme, so 4:1 is a single verse, introducing a new story which continues to v 8.

2. קחו לכם מנהגם שנים עשר אנשים איש־אחד איש־אחד משבט (MT)

παραλαβὼν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἕνα ἀφ’ ἐκάστης φυλῆς (LXX)

LXX, Vulgate and the Eastern Syriac open with a singular form, considering the context correctly. LXX and the Vulgate do not attest the dative plural pronoun לכם. Tov holds that the plus of this *dativus ethicus* phrase is a small elucidation introduced by the editor of MT.³⁴ However, we can also guess that the *Vorlage* of B read קח־לך. שנים עשר (‘twelve’) is also an MT plus to emphasise the number of tribes. LXX shows a different word order by putting ἄνδρας (אנשים) directly after קחו, and represents אחד־איש just once. Again, this shows us that MT’s reading is textual exegesis of LXX *Vorlage*.

3. a. *command.* For וצו see v 2 (קחו).

b. לאמר שׂאו (καὶ ἀνέλεσθε). It is a general rule that direct speech comes only after some form of the verb אמר in Hebrew and LXX normally renders לאמר by some form of λέγων. However, only MT represents לאמר. In addition, the use of καὶ in LXX^B is rather unusual. LXX^B may have a different Hebrew *Vorlage* ושׂאו from MT שׂאו. The Hebrew which corresponds to ἀνέλεσθαι in this verse is נשא, but in v. 5 ἀνελόμενος and ἀράτω are expressed by only one Hebrew word הרים (‘raise high’).³⁵ MT may have changed the Hebrew word to give variety in expression.

c. לכם מזה These words are MT pluses.

d. ממצב רגלי הכהנים These three words are lacking in LXX-Josh 4:3, but

³⁴ E. Tov, ‘The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,’ 391.

³⁵ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 111.

the similar phrase (מוצב דגלי הכהנים) does occur in v 9. Perhaps this part originated from the same idea as v 9, emphasising the middle of the river.

e. הכין To understand this verb is not easy. One might think that this is a rare form of *hiphil* infinitive absolute used to express a command, but the absence of the appropriate conjunction makes this idea impossible. Noth and Kaufmann helpfully suggest that it is an analogous form to הכן in 3:17, or perhaps results from dittography.³⁶ Ετοιμους ('ready' or 'steady') renders נכנים, the Hebrew cognate of this word, which is found in similar solemn commands in Exod 19:11, 15 and 34:2, to which there is an even closer parallel below in 8:4.³⁷

The Greek words at the end of verse 3 give a more military connotation than the MT Hebrew: στρατοπεδεια ('encampment' or 'the position of an army') is explicitly military; and the verb παρεμβάλλειν and its noun παρεμβολη in v. 8 are used in military contexts.³⁸

5. a. LXX lacks Joshua's name, ארון, אלהיכם and represents ἔμπροσθέν μου (before me), 'twelve' omitted in v 2. Holmes argues that the MT pluses ('and Joshua,' 'the ark') seem to be due to a misunderstanding of the original meaning of v 5.³⁹ Here, the Greek expression ἔμπροσθέν μου πρὸ προσώπου Κυρίου seems to read a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, לפני יהוה. We cannot exclude the possibility of editorial revision by the longer MT. E. Tov argues that ארון and אלהיכם are MT pluses caused by theological corrections.⁴⁰ The idea that Yahweh himself stands in the middle of the Jordan, was a stumbling block to the MT scribe,⁴¹ and the redundancy of לפני (ἔμπροσθέν μου) was a little awkward for him. Thus, he removed one לפני, interpolated ארון between לפני and יהוה, and changed the idea of this passage. In several places LXX mentioned actions happening 'in front of the Lord,' referring to

³⁶ J.A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 49.

³⁷ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 111.

³⁸ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 111-12.

³⁹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 112.

⁴⁰ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,' 394.

⁴¹ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 69.

the actual presence of the Lord with the ark of the covenant. The original idea, which implies direct contact with God, has been changed in MT by the addition of the words 'the ark of': 6:7, 13; 7:6.⁴²

6. The opening clauses of LXX and MT in this verse are quite different. It is not easy to decide whether LXX renders a *Vorlage* substantially different from MT, or whether LXX has shown freedom in translating the Hebrew text. Only LXX represents κείμενον διὰ παντός in this part.⁴³

The son's question in this verse recalls the institution of the feast of the passover and unleavened bread (Exod 13:3-10). LXX has singular ὁ υἱός σου ('your son') as in Exod 13:14 and Deut 6:20, but MT has plural בניכם ('your sons'). Tov attributes the change from plural to singular in this question to the influence of the Passover Haggadah upon a Hebrew scribe responsible for the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX.⁴⁴ However, I am not persuaded by his supposition that the Passover Haggadah already existed before the LXX came into being. Rather, it would be safer to assume that as Exod 13:14 and Deut 6:20 attest, LXX's singular is primary and MT exegetically changed later.

7. a. *And you shall tell them.* MT reads only plural (ואמרתם), but LXX singular καὶ δηλώσεις and συ, and has τῷ υἱῷ σου for להם in MT.

b. נכרתו מי הירדן LXX lacks this clause, but it occurs in Targum, Syriac and Vulgate. Soggin holds that this kind of repetition is 'common in West and South Semitic'.⁴⁵ However, some scholars try to reject this as a useless repetition. This is likely to be an editorial insertion by a proto-masoretic scribe.

8. a. כאשר צוה יהושע ('as Joshua commanded'). Unlike MT, LXX offers 'as Yahweh commanded Joshua' (καθάπερ συνέταξεν κύριος τῷ Ἰησοῖ). In 9:3 as well, the LXX attributes an instruction to Yahweh, but the MT to Joshua. Similar to this, in

⁴² E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua,' 394.

⁴³ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 113-14.

⁴⁴ E. Tov, 'Midrash-Type Exegesis in the Septuagint of Joshua,' 161-62.

⁴⁵ J.A. Soggin, *Joshua, OTL*, 50.

4:5 and 5:15, 'Joshua' is a plus in the MT. The MT seems to magnify Joshua to compare his leadership to that of Moses.

b. למספר שבטי Instead, LXX reads ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τῆς διαβάσεως ('at the completion of the passing over'). It is quite difficult to find any connection between 'the number of tribes' in MT and 'the completion of the passing over' in LXX.

'The place where they lodged' (המלון) in v 8 repeats the same word as in v 3. However, LXX uses different words, στρατοπεδεία in v 3 and παρεμβολή in v 8. We could consider different explanations as to the divergence between LXX and the MT. First, it is possible that there were dual traditions, so both the MT and the LXX reflect early traditions. Second, the LXX *Vorlage* might have the same word as the MT and the LXX translator used two different words. However, the Greek, στρατοπεδεία in v 3 appears to have a more vivid military connotation than the Hebrew would require. The noun παρεμβολή in v 8, cognate of the verb παρεμβάλλειν in v 3, is also often used in military contexts.⁴⁶ Therefore, it is more probable that the natural Greek syntax reflects the common original text and the MT changed the word exegetically to show that God's command given in v 3 was fulfilled in v 8.

9. a. וּשְׁתֵּים עָשָׂר אַבְנִים LXX and Vulgate have ἄλλους ('others') before אַבְנִים and make a clear distinction between the twelve stones at brink of the Jordan in v 8 and in the middle of the Jordan in v 9. Here again, we could also consider possible explanations for the divergence between LXX and the MT. First, there may have been dual traditions, so the proto-MT did not have אַחֲרֵים but the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX did have it. Second, the LXX *Vorlage* might not have read אַחֲרֵים as the MT, but the LXX translator used this word. Third, אַחֲרֵים (ἄλλους) in LXX might reflect the common original text, while the MT removed the word exegetically. While it is difficult to decide between these three options, the third seems to be more persuasive. An MT editor may have eliminated this word to bestow the same authority to the

⁴⁶ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 111-112.

stones in the middle of the Jordan as the stones at the brink of the Jordan and to read this verse without discontinuity from those previous verses regarding the twelve stones at the brink of Jordan. However, it does not seem to be probable that the original story featured two sets of twelve stones. Thus, we can suspect the possibility that the MT and B show difference in dealing with 4:9 because it is a secondary addition. For more of this, see Chapter Six.

b. בחך MT plus to emphasise the middle of the river.

10. a. *Ark*. Only LXX describes the ark as τῆς διαθήκης ('of the covenant').

b. עד תם כל־הדבר אשר־צוה יהוה את־יהושע ('until everything was finished that Yahweh commanded Joshua'). LXX reads ἕως οὗ συνετέλεσεν Ἰησοῦς πάντα ἃ ἐνετείλατο κύριος ('until Joshua finished all that Yahweh commanded'). In LXX, Joshua is the subject of 'complete,' and lacks ככל אשר־צוה משה את־יהושע, which seems to be an MT plus to underscore the transmission from Moses to Joshua. Tov maintains that this MT plus is a secondary addition to the Hebrew text attested to by LXX based on Deut 3:28. Here, the shorter LXX is more logical than MT, where Joshua had first been commanded by Yahweh, while this MT plus places the authority in the hands of Moses.⁴⁷ This passage shows us the inextricability of textual and literary criticism.⁴⁸ We will discuss this further in Chapter Six.

11. a. The ark (sg.) is the subject of ויעבר. LXX represents והאבנים (οἱ λίθοι) instead of והכהנים in MT. Some commentators who prefer MT maintain that the translator, or an earlier copyist, simply misread the original Hebrew. However, instructions to the priests are given in v. 16. Auld holds that 'it [is] more likely that "stones" has been adjusted to "priests" in MT, on the basis of too literal a recollection of the command to the priests in 3:6 – "Take up the chest of the covenant,

⁴⁷ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,' 389.

⁴⁸ E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 327-328. See further H.-J. Stipp, 'Textkritik-Literarkritik-Textentwicklung. Überlegungen zur exegetischen Aspektsystematik,' in *ETL* 66 (1990), p. 145, and K. Bieberstein, *Joshua-Jordan-Jericho*, 163.

and pass on before the people”⁴⁹.

12. The rare Hebrew word חֲמִשִּׁים, which is understood by modern scholars in a military sense as *in battle array*, occurs only in Exod 13:18, Josh 4:12 and Judg 7:11 in the Hebrew Bible. The Greek cognate of this word in Josh 4:12 is δισκευασμένοι (‘to be equipped’). In LXX of Exodus and Judges, this word is connected etymologically with חָמֵשׁ in the sense of ‘five’. However, the Greek translator of Joshua suggests a well-considered and contextually appropriate rendering that emphasises the military function of the Trans-Jordanian tribes as a vanguard for the Israelite army, in line with Num 32 and Josh 4:13, where in the Hebrew text the synonymous word חֲלוּצִים, *equipped for war*, occurs.⁵⁰ Both the verb δισκευασμένοι (‘to be equipped’) in 4:12 and the Greek adjective ἐξώνοι (חֲלוּצִים) in 4:13 appear only in LXX-Sir 36:26 (τίς γὰρ πιστεύσει ἐξώνῳ ληστῇ, *for who will trust a well-equipped robber?* For Hebrew צבא גִּדּוּד צָבָא, *who will trust a troop of the army?*) and 1 Macc 6:33, respectively.⁵¹

13. a. כְּאַרְבַּעִים אֲלֶף Giving exact number, LXX and Vulgate do not represent כ (τετρακισμύριοι ἐξώνοι). In this verse, we can also find the reading of LXX, which presents the correct number and seems to be earlier than that of MT, which gives an estimated number and improved reading.

16. a. הַעֲדוּת According to Auld, LXX normally distinguishes between two phrases: ‘the ark of the covenant’ (ἡ κιβωτος της διαθηκης), and ‘the tent of the testimony’ (ἡ σκηνη του μαρτυριου). In Exodus, ‘covenant’ and ‘testimony’ are alternative terms for the Decalogue: that the ‘testimonies’ are to be placed within the ‘ark’ (25:15,20); and it talks in its final chapter of ‘the tent of the testimony’ being erected and ‘the chest of the testimony’ being put in it (40:2-3). LXX shows simpler style than the MT in these matters: it uses μαρτυριον for MT *mo’ed* (traditionally

⁴⁹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 116.

⁵⁰ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 243.

⁵¹ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 244.

‘meeting’ and in connection with ‘tent’) and for *ha’edut* (traditionally ‘the testimony’ and connected with ‘ark’). It is not easy to discuss which is the more original in the Pentateuch between the simpler LXX and the more complex MT. Yet, here in 4:16, MT’s simpler ‘the ark of the testimony’ seems to be the older text.⁵²

18. χώρα (‘place’, ‘region’, ‘land’, ‘cultivated land’) occurs outside the LXX-Joshua some 65 times as an alternative rendering of the Hebrew noun ארץ besides the standard equivalent γῆ. However, the Hebrew correspondent to this word in this verse is מקום. Within the Greek version of Joshua, this noun recurs only in 5:12 (χώραν τῶν Φοινίκων). The phrase ὥρμησεν τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Ιορδάνου κατὰ χώραν (‘the water of the Jordan set in motion in its place’) in the corresponding Hebrew clause וישבו מִהִירֶדֶן לִמְקוֹמָם (‘the water of the Jordan returned to its place’) in Josh 4:18 resembles the narrative of Israel’s crossing through the Reed Sea (Exod 14:27) where the similar clause καὶ ἀπεκατέστη τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐπὶ χώρας (‘the water returned to its place towards the day’) appears in Hebrew וישב הים לפנות בקר לאיתנו (‘the water returned to its normal level at daybreak’) appears.⁵³

20. The LXX has the third person singular verb ἔλαβεν (ἔλαβ, ‘he took’), but the MT has the third person plural לקחו (‘they took’).

21. a. ויאמר אל-בני ישראל LXX^{BA} and some recensions do not represent this clause. Boling and Wright argue that ‘LXX shows a sizable haplography here: לאמר [בנלג] ויאמר אל-בני ישראל’.⁵⁴ However, even if this form appears in 3:6; 4:1b, 15, 21, לאמר after ויאמר is uncommon. Rather, this seems to be MT plus, which shows a conscious editorial expansion of the Hebrew text. A later scribe interpolated this phrase to introduce the direct discourse and to re-emphasise the identity of the speaker and the addressees. In this hypothetical verse, more divergences appear between MT and LXX. Both share the plural ‘your sons’ (οἱ υἱοὶ υμῶν), but differ

⁵² A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 118.

⁵³ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 401-402.

⁵⁴ R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 158.

over whom 'your sons' will ask: LXX has 'you' (pl), while MT has them ask 'their fathers tomorrow'.⁵⁵ S. Sipilä insists that מחר and אחר-אבותם are pluses, caused by MT corruptions.⁵⁶

22. הַיַּרְדֵּן is an MT plus of 'small elucidation'⁵⁷ to define 'Jordan'.

24. ὁπῶς The Hebrew cognate of this word is למען. ὁπῶς leads purpose clauses twice in Joshua beyond this verse (11:20; 23:7). The second למען in this verse is translated by ἵνα, perhaps simply for variety.⁵⁸

יִרְאֲתֶם The suffix in the MT must be revocalised with the third plural suffix (they), according to the context. MT lacks ὑμεῖς (אתם), which could have been omitted in error by haplography from the *Vorlage* (יראֲתֶם אתם).

3.2.3. Conclusion of Text Critical Study

Through the text critical analysis, we can see that there are quite a lot of differences between the MT and the LXX in Josh 3-4. However, these differences do not seem to be caused by errors in copying or misunderstandings of the text or exegetical and theological improvements from the MT to the LXX, as has traditionally been supposed. Rather, LXX-Joshua 3-4 appears to be based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the textual tradition underlying MT-Joshua 3-4. Furthermore, the generally shorter Greek is an earlier and better witness than the MT to that common original from which both have diverged:

- 1) 3:5 and 6 show the literalness and faithfulness of the LXX in rendering the Hebrew *Vorlage*.
- 2) There are some verses which show the possibility of scribal error on the

⁵⁵ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 119.

⁵⁶ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 69.

⁵⁷ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua', 391.

⁵⁸ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 120.

MT side: dittography (3:8, 9) haplography (4:24).

- 3) There appear to be more elements of improvement, development and theologising in the MT than in the LXX: 3:9, 10, 12; 4: 5, 8, 13.
- 4) There is some evidence, which shows exegetical variations and adjustments by the scribe or copyist of the MT: 3: 15, 17; 4: 2, 3, 11.
- 5) In particular, there are a larger number of pluses in the MT than in the LXX (See the table below).

MT pluses	Verse	LXX pluses
הוא וכל־בני ישראל	3:1	
ואתם	3:3	ἡμῶν καὶ
	3:5	εἰς αὐρίον
לאמר	3:6	Κυρίου
		οἱ ἱερεῖς
		Κυρίου
כי	3:7	υἱῶν
		οὕτως
		καὶ
	3:8	καὶ
ויאמר יהושע	3:10	
לפניכם	3:11	
ועתה	3:12	
איש־אחד		
כפות	3:13	
מלמעלה		
ך		

נר אחד		
ויהי	3:14	
כל	3:15	οἱ ἱερεῖς
		διαθήκης
		διαθήκης Κυρίου
		τοῦ Ιορδάνου
		πυρῶν
מאדם	3:16	σφόδρα
		κατέβη
		ἕως
הכן	3:17	οἱ υἱοὶ
יהי	4:1	
לכם	4:2	
שנים עשר		
איש־אחד		
לאמר	4:3	καὶ
לכם מזה		καὶ τούτους
ממצב רגלי הכהנים		
וְ		
איש־אחד	4:4	
יהושע	4:5	ἐμπροσθέν μου
		ἐκεῖθεν
ארון		ἀράτω
		δώδεκα

אלהיכם		
בני		
	4:6	κείμενον διὰ παντός
בירדן		σὺ
נכרתו מי הירדן	4:7	λέγων
		πάσης τῆς γῆς
	4:8	κυρίου
בתוך	4:9	ἄλλους
		Κυρίου
תוך	4:10	τῆς διαθήκης
ככל אשר־צוה משה את־יהושע		
העם	4:11	τῆς διαθήκης
כ	4:13	
עם	4:14	
	4:16	τῆς διαθήκης
		Κυρίου
תוך	4:18	
כפות		
הכהנים		
ויאמר אל־בני ישראל	4:21	ὕμᾱς
מחר		
את־אבותם		
וְ	4:22	
הזה		
	4:23	κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν

	4:24	ὕμεις
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[Table 2]

As this table shows, the MT contains many more pluses than the LXX. One important point among the features about this complex narrative that we come to notice through this text criticism is that the MT pluses, which seem to be the final layer of this narrative,⁵⁹ make conspicuous the possibility of the priority of the LXX.

3.3. Conclusion

As we saw above, there are a lot of differences between the MT and the LXX in Joshua 3-4. In addition, we have come to know that these differences were not caused by error, misunderstanding or exegetical and theological improvement of the LXX scribe or copyist. Rather, the text critical study of Joshua 3-4 shows that the shorter Greek is an earlier and better witness than the MT. The large number of pluses in MT-Joshua 3-4 is one of the strongest pieces of evidence which supports this argument.

However, Polzin, one of the best synchronic readers, commits a critical mistake in completely disregarding the LXX. In addition if we read more closely this complicated narrative with the help of text critical analysis, we realise that the LXX provides us with a much easier understanding. As we saw above, if we read the LXX, we do not need to apply Polzin’s complex literary theory to the two different stone stories in the middle and at the brink of the Jordan. Thus, one of the most difficult stories in this narrative can be better understood.

⁵⁹ One of the most complex analyses ever of these chapters was made by Langlamet, who divided them into nine subdivisions. A.G. Auld noted that his final three layers were all made up of pluses in MT and these ‘supplements’ would be a form of redaction. *Joshua, Moses and the land: Tetrateuch-Pentateuch-Hexateuch in a generation of study since 1938*, 43-4, 91. We shall analyse these pluses more closely in Chapter Six.

Chapter Four

Reading Joshua 3-4 as part of the developing Ark Narrative

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the literary layers of Joshua 3-4 in the wider context of the Old Testament. This chapter aims to explore the literary history of Josh 3-4 in the context of the other ark narratives, in particular, Num 10:33-36, Josh 6, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, and 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5, in which the ark leads the people of Israel into the promised land and comes to rest in the Jerusalem Temple. Through this study, the writer argues that one should pay attention to recent arguments that suggest new ways of reading the literary history of the Old Testament. The writer will examine the relevance of Auld's theory, according to which the shared material in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles is the root work of the whole tree of Genesis – Kings. Even though Auld persuasively maintains that the shared materials of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are the root work of the Former Prophets and the Pentateuch, he has never tried to show how recognition of this root work might affect our understanding of the formation of the literary layers in the other Former Prophets and Pentateuch texts. Thus, the writer will try to examine how the ark texts are connected with each other. As the research on 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5, which concern the ark's movements in the promised land, deals with not only synoptic texts, but also non-synoptic texts, it can provide us with new insights. For this research, the writer will first briefly survey all the texts of the Old Testament in which the ark is mentioned. Second, the writer will focus his exploration on the texts in which the ark leads Israel and moves into some promised place, similar to Josh 3-4. Third, he will

analyse some major words and phrases in these texts as part of the preliminary study. Finally, he will examine the literary history and the formation of relationship among these texts.

4.2. The Ark in the Old Testament

The word אֲרוֹן or אָרוֹן, appears extensively in the entire Old Testament. In Gen 50:26, it is employed as a ‘coffin’ for Joseph’s bones, and in 2 Kgs 12: 9(10), 10(11) and 2 Chron 24:8, 10, 11 as a ‘chest’ for financial contributions, but its general reference is to ‘the ark’ as a focal religious point. Exod 25:10-22 explains the origin and model of the ark, while Exod 37:1-9 refers to the real process of Bezalel’s manufacturing of the ark. Besides these texts, the word, ‘the ark’, appears several times in the book of Exodus (Exod 26:33, 34; 30:6, 26; 31:7; 35:12; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 20, 21). In the book of Leviticus, אָרוֹן is used just once (Lev 6:2). In the book of Numbers, except for in Num 10:33-36, in which the ark leads Israel in the wilderness itinerary, the word appears in Num 3:31; 4:5; 7:89; 14:44. Deut 10:1-9 also elucidates the making and origin of the ark. Deut 10:5 says that the ‘two tablets of Moses’ were deposited in the ark and Deut 31:26 reports that ‘the law book of Moses’ was preserved beside the ark. In Josh 3-4, the ark, which is the symbol of God’s presence, plays a leading role in Israel’s crossing of the Jordan and her journey into the promised land. Josh 6 shows that the ark led the people of Israel in the conquest of Jericho. Additionally, the ark appears in Josh 7:6 and 8:33. In contrast to the other books of the Former Prophets, in the book of Judges the ark does not play an important role and appears just once in 20:27. In the story of Israel’s war with the Philistines in 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, the ark alone brings victory to Israel after an unexpected initial defeat. In this narrative, the ark moves from Shiloh to Ebenezer (1

Sam 4:4), from Ebenezer to Ashdod (1 Sam 5:1), from Ashdod to Ekron (5:10), from Ekron to Beth-shemesh (6:12), and then from Beth-shemesh to the house of Abinadab on the hill (Kiriath-jearim) (1 Sam 7:1). Besides these, the ark appears in 3:3 and 14:18 in the book of 1 Samuel. 2 Sam 6 recounts the process of the ark's movement from Kiriath-jearim through the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem. In addition, the ark is referred to in 2 Samuel 7:2; 11:11; 15:24, 25, 29. 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11 describes the process of the ark's movement from the city of David to the Temple in Jerusalem, in which the ark is settled. Besides this, it also appears in 1 Kgs 2:26; 3:15; 6:19; 8:21. 1 Chron 13-16 also describes the course of the ark's movement from Kiriath-jearim to David's city, in which material parallel to 2 Sam 6 is included. Other than this, the word, 'the ark', is employed in 1 Chron 6:31; 17:1; 22:19; 28:2, 18. 2 Chron 5 describes the ark's movement from David's city to the Temple in Jerusalem in a similar way to 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11. Besides this, the ark appears in 1:4; 6:11, 41; 8:11; 35:3 in the book of 2 Chronicles. The ark appears also in Psalms 78 and 132. Jer 3:16 which mentions the loss of the ark is the last record of the ark in the canonical order of the Old Testament.

4.3. Preliminary Analysis: The Literary History of Josh 3-4 in the Context of the Ark Narratives (Num 10:33-36, Josh 3-4, Josh 6, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5)

As we saw above, the ark appears quite a number of times from Genesis to Jeremiah in the canonical order of the Old Testament. However, since our time and space is limited, it would not be possible for us to deal with all of these ark texts. Thus, we will focus our research on the ark narratives similar to Josh 3-4, in which the ark is leading or accompanying the people of Israel. These are Num 10:33-36,

Josh 3-4, Josh 6, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5.

Before we read the literary history of Josh 3-4 with the help of similar ark narratives, we will investigate whether the texts could best be read in canonical or in historical order by analysing some major words and phrases in these stories. In this study we will have to consider text critical issues, for MT and LXX^B show a number of differences in these texts. Moreover, we will have to consider challenges raised by 4QSam^a, which plays an important role in the research of text critical issues.¹

4.3.1. Designations for the Ark in Num 10:33-36, Josh 3-4, Josh 6, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5

If we tabulate the epithets of the ark in these texts, the results are as follows:

¹ For this, see, P.K. McCarter, *1 Samuel*, AB (Doubleday:New York, 1980), 5-11; R.W. Klein, *1 Samuel*, WBC (Waco: Texas, 1983), xxv-xxviii; G.N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 1-9*, AB (Doubleday: London, 2003), 52-65; idem, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, AB (Doubleday: London, 2004), 578-661; especially, F.M. Cross, D.W. Parry, R.J. Saley, and E. Ulrich, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert XVII: Qumran Cave 4 XII 1-2 Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

Name	Solomon's Ark 1Kgs7:51-8:11/2Chron5:1-14			David's Ark 2Sam6/1Chron13-16 ²			1Sam4:1b-7:2 ³			J o s h 3-4	J o s h 6
	K g s + o r variants	S y n o p t i c	C h r + o r variants	2Sam6+or variants			C h r + o r variants				
	B	MT		B	Q	MT	B	Q	MT	B	MT
דָּוִד	1K8: 6		1K8:3,5,7a,7b, 9/2C5:4,6,8a, 8b,10	2S6: 3b,4,7, 13,16	2S6:7, 9a	2S6:4b	B4QS ³ 6:7/1C 13:10	1C13:9, 10,13:15; 23,24b,27 ;16:37b	1S4:4b;6:1,8; 7:2	1S4:13,17, 18,21; 19,21; 5:1,8b, 10a,10b;11	3:15ac, 15a; 4:10
אֶרֶן אֱלֹהִים							1S4:11	1S4:11	1S4:11		
אֶרֶן אֱלֹהִים				2S6: 6,12a	2S6:6, 12a,12b	2S6:3, 4a,6,7, 12a,12b	1C13:5b, 7,12,14;1 5:1,2a,15, 24a;16:1	1C13:5b, 7,12,14;1 5:1,2a,15, 24a;16:1	1S4:13,17, 18,21; 19,21; 5:1,8b, 10a,10b;11		6:4,9
אֶרֶן אֱלֹהִים							1S4:3				
אֶרֶן אֱלֹהִים											
אֶרֶן יְהוָה	1K8: 4		2S6:3a,9 ;11,12b, 15,17	2S6:3,4 (2x)9b, 11,13,1 15,17	2S6:9, 10,11, 13,15, 16,17	2S6:9, 10,11, 13,15, 16,17	1C13:3	1C13:3	1S4:4; 6:2,8, 18,20, 21	1S4:6:5-4; 6:1,2,8,11, 15,18,19, 21;7:1a,1b	4:11
אֶרֶן אֱלֹהִים							1S5:8(3x),10 ac,10b,11a	1S5:8(3x),10 ac,10b,11a	1S4:6:5-4; 6:1,2,8,11, 15,18,19, 21;7:1a,1b		6:6b,7, 11,12, 13(2x)
אֶרֶן יְהוָה											
אֶרֶן יְהוָה											

² Since there are significant differences between 2 Sam 6 and 1 Chron 13-16, we should perhaps make a separate comparison of 2 Sam 6:1-11 with 1 Chron 13, and of 2 Sam 6:14b-20a with parts of 1 Chron 15-16, which are equivalent texts to each other. However, it was difficult to make space for this in the tables in this chapter, so the author dealt with these sections together, mentioning details when required.

³ Since 1 Sam 6:1-7:2 does not seem to belong to the same layer of 1 Sam 4-5, we should treat 1 Sam 4-5 separately from 1 Sam 6. For this, see A.G. Auld, *Samuel at the Threshold*, 145-47. However, because of the difficulty in dealing with the tables, this author put them together into one section in this chapter.

⁴ Cf. 2 Sam 11:11; Josh 8:33a. אֶרֶן in 2 Chron 16:41; Pss 132:8.

⁵ אֶרֶן.

⁶ Cf. 1 Sam 3:3.

⁷ Cf. 2 Chron 1:4; 1 Sam 14:18a, 18b; 2 Sam 7:2; 15:24a; 25, 29.

⁸ Cf. 1 Chron 8:11; Josh 7:6.

Name	Solomon's Ark 1Kgs7:51-8:11/2Chron5:1-14				David's Ark 2Sam 6/1Chron 13-16				1 Sam 4:11b-7:2				Josh 3-4		Josh 6		
	K g s + or variants		S y n .	C h r + or variants	2Sam6 + or variants			S y n .	C h r + or variants	B	Q	MT	B	MT		B	M T
	B	MT				B	Q	MT									
(ה)ארון בית יהוה		1K8:6 ¹⁰	1K8:1// 2C5:2	2C5:7		2S6:10	2S6:10		1C15:25,26, 28,29;16:37	IS5:4,18; 7:1a,1b	IS4:3;7:1	IS4:3,5	3:6a,6b, 15a,17a; 4:9,11	3:17; 4:7,18	6:8, 9,12, 13	6: 8	
ארון בית												IS4:4a					
יהוה צבאות												IS4:4b			6:11		
ארון בית האלהים ¹¹									1C16:6					4:5			
ארון יהוה אלהים														3:3			
ארון בית יהוה אלהים																	
יהוה אלהינו																	
ארון בית יהוה אלהי ישראל										IS6:3	IS6:3						
(ה)ארון הברית													3:8,14, 15a,4:10	3:6(2x), 8,14; 4:9		6: 6a	
ארון יהוה ארון כל־הארץ															3:13		
ארון (ה)בית ארון כל־הארץ													3:11, 13:4,7	3:11			
ארון העדות ¹²														4:16			
ארון הברית ערות יהוה													4:16				

[Table 3]

⁹ Cf. 1 Kgs 6:19; Jer 3:16; Josh 8:33a.

¹⁰ B represents ארון here.

¹¹ Jud 20:27; 2 Sam 15:24a.

¹² Cf. Exod 25:22; 26:33, 34; 30:6, 26, 36; 31:7; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 21; Num 4:5; 7:89.

Num 10:33-36 has only two epithets: (ה)ארון ברית יהוה (10:33), הארון (10:35). We initially excluded Num 10:33-36 for the sake of convenience in dealing with the table: it is too short a text for us to find any general rule,¹³ although details are mentioned where relevant.

In [Table 3] above, there occur twenty epithets of the ark in the texts related with the movement of the ark. These epithets could be divided into four different kinds: simple ארון (ה), ארון combined with the divine epithet אלהים, ארון bonded with יהוה, ארון with יהוה and אלהים together.

The epithets which appear most frequently in these texts are (ה)ארון, ארון ברית יהוה, ארון האלהים, ארון יהוה, ארון. ארון appears in all the texts from Num 10:33-36 to 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5 except for in LXX^B-Josh 3-4, LXX^B-Josh 6. ארון ברית יהוה is also employed in all the texts except MT-2 Sam 6 and ארון יהוה except in Num 10:33-36, LXX^B-1 Kgs 7:51-8:11, and 2 Chron 5. However, even though ארון האלהים occurs quite often, its use is concentrated in 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16. These four epithets seem to form the basic framework of the texts from Num 10:33-36 to 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5. Among these four epithets, הארון is used as a synoptic¹⁴ expression in 1 Kgs 8:3//2 Chron 5:4, 1 Kgs 8:5//2 Chron 5:6, 1 Kgs 8:7a//2 Chron 5:8a, 1 Kgs 8:7b//2 Chron 5:8b and 1 Kgs 8:9//2 Chron 5:10; ארון האלהים in 2 Sam 6:2//1 Chron 13:6; and ארון ברית יהוה in 1 Kgs 8:1//2 Chron 5:2.¹⁵ Regarding the designations ארון יהוה and ארון האלהים, we notice that the latter is used in the synoptic text of 2 Sam 6:2//1 Chron 13:6, but the former, which is one of the most frequently used epithets, is never used in the synoptic texts of 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16 and 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5:1-14. Furthermore, ארון האלהים mainly appears in the first half of 2 Sam 6 and in 1 Chron 13, but הארון (ברית) יהוה mainly in

¹³ In the same manner, the distributions of terms in Num 10:33-36 are omitted in the tables on other words below.

¹⁴ In this study, the author treated only those epithets as synoptic expressions, which are found in exactly the same form in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

¹⁵ Here synoptic epithet means the expression which Samuel-Kings (MT, B, 4QSam^a) and Chronicles share.

1 Chron 15-16, which is considered secondary by scholars.¹⁶ In the ark story of 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, the same trend appears. ארון האלהים mainly occurs in 1 Sam 4:1b-5, but ארון יהוה in 1 Sam 6, which seems to be added later. Thus, it does not appear to be impossible to guess that ארון יהוה is later than ארון האלהים.¹⁷ We will discuss this further in the study on the divine epithets in these texts.

The unique epithets, which appear in one text only, are ארון אלהים in 1 Sam 4:11, and ארון אלהי ישראל in 1 Sam 5 (vv 7, 8), ארון אלהינו in 1 Chron 13:3, ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל in 1 Chron 15 (vv 12, 14). The text in which the most peculiar epithets are used, and are not found elsewhere in other texts, is Josh 3-4. For example, ארון יהוה ארון כל־הארץ (3:13), ארון הברית ארון כל־הארץ (3:11), ארון ברית־יהוה אלהים (3:3), ארון יהוה אלהים (4:5), and ארון העדות (4:16) are employed only in this text. Of course, although almost all the phrases except ארון כל־הארץ in 3:11, 13 appear in other texts, Josh 3-4 produces its own characteristic epithets using various phrases that are used in other texts. Apart from these, all the other epithets are used more than twice in the ark texts.

Another point arising from the above table, is that the epithets of the ark in Num 10:33-36 (ארון ברית יהוה and הארון) are employed in all the ark narratives of Chronicles and the Former Prophets in which the ark's movement is described. Some scholars maintain that ארון ברית יהוה is a 'Deuteronomistic expression'.¹⁸ That this epithet is used in Num 10:33 attracts our interest. It is possible that Num 10:33-36 was influenced by the Former Prophets and Chronicles, which provide general information about the ark and its epithets. Another possibility is that the epithets in Num 10:33-36 affected and shaped the development of a number of epithets in the Former Prophets and Chronicles. It does not seem to be plausible to think that

¹⁶ H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans; London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1982), 119-132; S. Japhet, *1 and II Chronicles: A Commentary*, (OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 272-324; S.L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, (Abingdon Press: Nashville, 2004), 131-153.

¹⁷ A.G. Auld, 'What was the Main Source of the Books of Chronicles?', in Auld (ed.) *Samuel at the Threshold: Selected Works of Graeme Auld*, SOTS, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 145.

¹⁸ For this, see C.L. Seow, 'Ark of the Covenant', ABD vol 1, 387.

ארון ברית יהוה in Num 10:33 could be the source of all the ‘covenant’ passages in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets, but we do not have to choose between these possibilities, for another instance of the table presents us with an opposing argument. The epithet ארון העדות, often regarded as the Priestly epithet,¹⁹ is used in the text of Joshua, which many scholars regard as Deuteronomistic. Some scholars attempt to explain this as a P insertion in Joshua, but the problem is more complex. Even though the word ארון העדות appears frequently in Kings and Chronicles (1 Kgs 2:3; 2 Kgs 11:12; 17:15; 23:3; 1 Chron 29:19; 2 Chron 23:11; 24:6; 34:31), and is used especially in relationship with the tabernacle in Chronicles (24:6), the word is never combined there with the ark (ארון). Here again, we must consider different possibilities. First, an author or editor of Josh 3-4, who tended to produce his own peculiar epithets for the ark, originated this expression and the ark texts in Exodus and Numbers introduced this epithet. Second, as scholars generally say, ארון העדות in Josh 4:16 is a later insertion, influenced by the ark texts in Exodus and Numbers. In both these cases, it should still be considered that Samuel-Kings and Chronicles do not know this epithet of the ark (ארון העדות). Again, it does not seem to be credible, however, that ‘the ark of testimony’ in Josh 4:16 could be the source of all the ‘testimony’ passages in Exodus-Numbers. Rather, since the epithet, ‘the ark of testimony’ (ארון העדות), appears mainly in the book of Exodus (Exod 25:22; 26:33, 34; 30:6, 26, 36; 31:7; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 21) and only in Josh 4:16 in the Former Prophets, a later editor of Josh 3-4 seems to have inserted the expression into Josh 4:16 to link the book of Joshua with Exodus.²⁰

However, since the entire distribution of the epithets of the ark presents us with similar difficulties, any attempt to select just one possibility among these still appears to be impetuous. When we consider their distribution, it does not seem to be easy to find any strategy which could tell us conclusively that there is one prior text

¹⁹ C.L. Seow, ‘Ark of the Covenant’, 387.

²⁰ For more on this, see Chapter Six.

from which the others were developed. However, if we move to the right from 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11 to Josh 3-4 in the [Table 3], we find that the number of the epithets of the ark increases and the gross distribution area of the epithets of the ark widens toward the end. Thus, we can infer one possible conclusion: the epithets of the ark increased and developed from 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5, which is the description of the ark in the Temple, to Num 10:33-36, in a rightward direction. Of course, the opposite reasoning should not be excluded, but the possibility to believe that a significant number of epithets in Chronicles and Former Prophets were developed from just two epithets in Num 10:33-36 seems to be low.

4.3.2. The Verbs Describing the Movements of the Ark in Num 10:33-36, Josh 3-4, Josh 6, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5

If we tabulate the verbs that refer to the movements of the ark, the result is as follows.²¹

²¹ In Num 10:33-36, נָסַע (Num 10:33, 35) and נָחָה (Num 10:36) occur in relationship with the movement of the ark. Of these two verbs, נָחָה (Num 10:36) also appears in 1Sam 6:18.

Verb	Solomon's Ark 1Kgs7:51-8:11/2Chron5:1-14		David's Ark 2Sam6//1Chron13-16			1 Sam 4 : 1 b - 7 : 2				Josh 3-4		J o s h
	K g s + o r variants		S y n o p t i c	C h r + o r variants		S y n o p t i c		C h r + o r variants				
	B	MT		B	Q	MT		B	Q	MT	B	M T
הִפְלִיחַ ²²		1K8: 4	1K8:1// 2C5:2	2C5:5	2S6: 12b	2S6: 12b	2S6:2,15//1C 13:6;15:28	1C15:3, 12,14, 25	1S6:20, 21bβ; 7:1aβ	1S6: 20; ²³ 21bβ; 7:1aβ		
הִנִּיחַ ²³			1K8:3// 2C5:4			2S6: 3aβ ²⁴ 4 ²⁵	2S6:13//15:26	1C15:2, 15,27	1S4:4	1S4:4	3:3aβ,6a,6b,8, 13,14,15aα, 15aβ,17a, 4:9,10,16,18	6: 6, 12 12
הִנִּיחַ ²⁴	Hiph		1K8:6// 2C5:7				2S6:17aα//1C16:1		1S5:1,2aβ	1S5:1,2aβ		
							2S6:9,16// 1C13:12;15:29	1C13:5	1S4:3,5,6; 10bα, 11b ²⁶ , 7:1aγ	1S4:3,5,6; 5:10bα, 7:1aγ		
הִנִּיחַ ²⁵	Qal								1S4:3,11, 17,19,22; 5:1,2aα, 6:8aα	1S4:3,11, 17,19,21, 22:5:1,2aα; 6:8aα		
									1S5: 8aγ,8b, 9,10bβ ²⁸	1S5: 8aγ,8b, 9,10bβ ²⁸	6: 6, 11 11	
הִנִּיחַ ²⁶							2S6:11//1C13:14	1C13:3	1S5:7	1S5:7; 7:2		

²² This verb is used always as hiphil form except in B, 4QSam^a (1 Sam 6:20), where it is used as qal.

²³ B, 4QSam^a (1 Sam 6:20) represents יהוה ארין as the subject of this verb, but MT does not.

²⁴ This verb is lacking in B, 4QSam^a 2 Sam6:3aβ and 1 Chron 13:7.

²⁵ B, 4QSam^a (2 Sam 6:4) and Chronicles do not represent this verb.

²⁶ 4QSam^a (1 Sam 5:11b), B (1 Sam 5:12) have בוא, but MT does not. R. W. Klein says that MT lost the overlined letters (בבוא ארין יהוה שמה) in 4QSam^a by homoteleuton. For this, see R. W. Klein, *I Samuel*, WBC (Waco: Texas, 1983), 48; P. K. McCarter, *I Samuel*, AB (Doubleday: New York, 1980), 121.

²⁷ This verb is used mainly in hiphil form except qal in 1 Sam 5:8aγ. It means 'bring over', 'carry about', or 'return', but in Josh 6:11 'go round'.

²⁸ B, 4QSam^a (1 Sam 5:10) attest הַסְבִּיחַ, but MT has הִסְבִּיחַ

The distribution of the verbs used to move the ark is similar to that of the epithets of the ark.

The verb which appears most frequently and evenly in all these texts except Num 10:33-36 is נשא. Besides this word, the next most frequently used verbs in these texts are העלה and בוא, which are used in all the ark narratives in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 has the most related verbs to the ark among these texts, and Num 10:33-36 and Josh 3-4, 6 use some special words, which are related to their context.

If we look into the verbs used in the synoptic texts, many verses have exactly the same verb in each equivalent verse: עלה in 2 Sam 6:2 (B, 4QSam^a, MT)//1 Chron 13:6, 2 Sam 6:15 (B, 4QSam^a, MT)//1 Chron 15:28, 1 Kgs 8:1//2 Chron 5:2; נשא in 2 Sam 6:13//1 Chron 15:26, 1 Kgs 8:3//2 Chron 5:4; בוא in 2 Sam 6:9//1 Chron 13:12, 2 Sam 6:16//1 Chron 15:29, 2 Sam 6:17aα //1 Chron 16:1, 1 Kgs 8:6//2 Chron 5:7; ישב in 2 Sam 6:11//1 Chron 13:14; in 2 Sam 6:17aβ//1 Chron 16:1; רכב in 2 Sam 6:3aα//1 Chron 13:7aα; אהז in 2 Sam 6:6//1 Chron 13:9; סור in 2 Sam 6:10a//1 Chron 13:13; נסה in 2 Sam 6:10b//1 Chron 13:13.

If we consider the distribution of these words in [Table 4], we could postulate two possibilities regarding the formation of these texts. One possibility is that Num 10:33-36 was written first and 2 Chron 5 last, i.e. equivalent to the canonical order. Yet, since the verbs used in Num 10:33-36 seldom affect the ones in Chronicles and the Former Prophets, this position could not be firmly supported. Only the non-synoptic text, 1 Sam 6:18, shares one word, נח, with Num 10:36. The other possibility is that the verbs in 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5, which report the ark's movement into the Temple, are the earliest expressions and form the basic framework for the use of these words. If we interpret [Table 4] according to this latter position, נשא, עלה, and בוא, in 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5 are the initial verbs in these ark texts, to which other verbs are added and from which the other various

expressions are developed. 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 shows the most varied and developed range of verbs among the texts in the Former Prophets. Josh 3-4, 6 adds some other verbs, which add a unique meaning in connection with their own situation, into the basic word נשא: 'to cross' (עבר) in Josh 3-4; 'to encircle' (נקף, סבב) and 'to follow' (הלך אחרי) in Josh 6. Num 10:36 employs נח, which is used in 1 Sam 6:18 (a non-synoptic text) and Num 10:33, 35 נסע, which never occurs in the Chronicles and Former Prophets.

Even though the former possibility does not seem to be that persuasive, we will not need to exclude it.

One other thing we have to consider here is that where B and 4QSam^a agree with each other, they quite often agree with Chronicles but against MT Samuel. For this, see footnote no. 23~28, 30. Scholars say that 4QSam^a is the *vorlage* of B. With this fact in mind we could consider one more possibility: that in synoptic contexts Chronicles seems to be earlier than MT-Samuel.

4.3.3. Levites and Priests in the Ark Narratives (Num 10:33-36, Josh 3-4, Josh 6, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5)

The use of the words, הכהנים and הלויים as the carriers of the ark, raises our interest in these texts. The distribution of these words is as follows.³¹

³¹ These terms are not found in Num 10:33-36.

Name	Solomon's Ark 1Kgs7:51-8:11/2Chron5:1-14			David's Ark 2Sam 6//1Chron 13-16			1 Sam 4 : 1 b – 7 : 2			Josh 3–4		Josh 6		
	K g s + or variants	Syn opt ic	Chr + or variants	2Sam6 + or variants			Syn opt ic	Chr + or variants						
	B	MT		B	Q	MT			B	Q	MT	B	MT	
הכנתים ³²	1K8.3	1K8.3	1K8.6, 10,11//2 C5:7,11, 14					IC13:2 (LXX) 15:11, 24, 16:6, 39				3:6,8,13 ,14,15aa ,15ab,17 ,4:9,10, 16,17,1 8	3:6,8,13 ,14,15ab ,17:4:3, 9,10,16, 17,18	4,6,8,9, 12,13a, 16
הלים								IC15:2, 4, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 22, 26, 27; 16:4	1S6:15	Not Extant ³³				
הכנתים הלים			2C5: 4,12									3:3		
הכנתים והלים		1K8.4						IC13:2 (הלים MT Plus); 15:14						
כנתים והלים												3:3		
כני ארון ³⁴								IC15:4						

[Table 5]

³² Cf. Num 10:8.

³³ 1 Sam 6:15 is not attested at all in 4QSam^a.

³⁴ Cf. Num 10:8.

According to [table 5], הכהנים is used frequently in almost all the texts except for in Num 10:33-36, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 (B, 4QSam^a, MT), and 2 Sam 6 (B, 4QSam^a, MT). However, הלויים appears mainly in Chronicles and once in 1 Sam 6:15 (4QSam^a is not extant); and the combined form with הכהנים appears five times (Josh 3:3; 1 Kgs 8:4; 1 Chron 13:2; 15:14; 2 Chron 5:5), but two of these are MT pluses (1 Kgs 8:4 and 1 Chron 13:2).

Among the texts of 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, and 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5, in Chronicles (ה)כהנים appears 11 times (except LXX^B plus in 1 Chron 13:2) and הלויים 15 times; but in Samuel-Kings (ה)כהנים is used 5 times (including one MT plus in 1 Kgs 8:4) and הלויים just twice as a component in הכהנים והלויים, which is also an MT plus. Thus, from the table above, we can deduce that even though the word הלויים often occurs in Chronicles, the frequency of its use in Samuel-Kings is relatively low. If we observe the frequency in the use of these two words in the Old Testament, the reason for this becomes obvious. הכהנים occurs 732 times in the Old Testament: 114 times in Samuel-Kings and 109 times in Chronicles. (ה)לויים appears 292 times: 100 times in Chronicles, but just 4 times in Samuel-Kings, one of which is an MT plus (1 Kgs 8:4) and all of the remaining three are non-synoptic.³⁵ Thus, הלויים occurs relatively often in Chronicles, but rarely in Samuel-Kings. However, we could not conclude that Samuel-Kings was written first and Chronicles later, or that the author or editor of Samuel-Kings was related to a group of priests, while that of Chronicles was linked with the Levites as well as the priests.³⁶ We can safely conclude, however, that: 1) Samuel-Kings shows interest mainly in the priests, 2) Chronicles takes an interest in the Levites as well as in the priests. This would be an interesting area for further research.

³⁵ לוי in 1 Kgs 12:31; לויים in 1 Kgs 8:4; 2 Sam 15:24; 1 Sam 6:15.

³⁶ For this, see A.C. Welch, 'The Chronicler and the Levites', in *The Work of the Chronicler: Its Purpose and its Date* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), 55-80; A. Cody, *A History of Old Testament Priesthood* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 183; G. N. Knoppers, 'Hierodules, Priest, or Janitors?: The Levites in Chronicles and the History of the Israelite Priesthood', *JBL* 118(1999), 49-72; K. Min, *The Levitical Authorship of Ezra-Nehemiah*, JSOTSup 409 (2004), 65-70.

In these ark texts, הכהנים is used in the synoptic texts of 1 Kgs 8:6, 10, 11//2 Chron 5:7, 11, 14, but הלויים is never used in any synoptic texts. הלויים in 1 Sam 6:15 does not seem to be the primary expression in Samuel-Kings. Rather, Chronicles supplies a lot of information on the priests and the Levites, by which it (הלויים in 1 Sam 6:15) appears to be influenced. In 1 Sam 6:15 'move' is expressed by the hiphil forms of ירד, עלה, and בוא in [Table 4]. The pairing of הלויים plus the hiphil form of ירד in 1 Sam 6:15 seems to show the influence of Chronicles.

The compound form of הלויים (ו)הכהנים appears three times in the Chronicles' ark text including the MT plus of the word, הלויים, in 1 Chron 13:2, but not in Samuel-Kings. Even though הכהנים והלויים is used once in 1 Kgs 8:4, it is an MT plus. This form is also used in Josh 3:3 (MT: הכהנים הלויים, LXX: הכהנינו והלויים). It is not easy to decide on the relationship between the expressions in Josh 3:3 and those in Chronicles. However, we can say that Chronicles provides a lot of important information about the priests and Levites, and those ark texts in Chronicles and Josh 3-4 share the compound word הלויים (ו)הכהנים.

4.3.4. Divine Epithets in Num 10:33-36, Josh 3-4, Josh 6, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5³⁷

³⁷ *Juxtaposed epithets are each counted as a divided word.

Name	Solomon's Ark 1Kgs7:51-8:11/2Chron5:1-14		David's Ark 2Sam 6/1Chron 13-16			1 Sam 4:1 b-7:2			Josh 3-4		Josh 6		
	Kgs+or variants	Syn opt ic	Chr +or variants	2Sam6 (including 2Sam5:11- 25)+ or variants		Syn opt ic	Chr+or variants	B	Q	MT	B	MT	
יהוה ³⁸	1K7: 51b:8: 4,10, 11bβ	1K7: 51a:8: 11bα,6,9: //2C5: 1a,2b,7, 10, 14bα	2C13 (3x)	2S6: 2bβ,3,5: 7b,9a, 9b,10: 11a:5: 19a,20: 24,25:6 :12(3x), 14,16b, 17(2x)	2S6: 2bβ,3: 4(2x),5: 9a,9b, 10,11a: 5:19a: 10,11a: 5:19a: 6:12aα, 13,14: 16a, 16b, 17(2x)	2S6: 7aα,7b, 8,11b: 5:12: 19b:6: 15,18// 1C13: 10aα, 11,14b: 14:2, 10b:15: 28:16:2	13:2,6bα,14: 17:15:2,3,12, 13,14,15,25, 26,29a,16:4 (2x),7,8,10, 14,15 (2x),7,8,10,25, 26,28(2x),29 (2x),31,33, 34,36(2x),37, 39,40(2x),41	1S4:3aβ, 4,5,6,8a, 22:5,2,3 (2x),4,6, 9,6,2,3, 5,11,13, 14,15 (2x),17, (2x),20 (2x),21; 7:1(2x), 2	1S4:3,4: 5:9,11:6: 2,3,5,8, 17,18,20 (2x),21; 7:1	1S4:3aβ, 3bα,4,5,6: 5:3,4,6,9:6: 1,2,8,11,14, 15(2x),17, 18,19(2x), 20,21:7:1 (2x),2	3:3,5,6 (2x),7,9, 15,17a:4: 1,5,8(2x), 9,10,11, 13,14,15, 16,18,23 (3x), 24(2x)	3:3,5,7, 9,13, 17:4:1, 5,7,8, 10,11, 13,14, 15,18, 23(2x), 24(2x)	6,2, 6,7,8 (2x), 11, 12, (2x),9, 13 (2x), (2x),16, 17, (2x),24, 26,27 (2x), 24, 26, 27
אלהים ³⁹			2C1b, 14bβ	2S6:6, 7aβ, 12aβ, 12b	2S6:6, 7aβ, 12aβ, 12b	2S6: 2bα,7b //1C13: 6bα,10b	13:2,3,5b,7, 8,12a,2b,14a; 14:10a,11,12, 13,17, 18,19, 21:5,1,7 (2x),8 (3x),10 (3x),11, 12:,6:3,5 42	1S4:3bα, 7,8b (2x),11, 13,17, 18,19, 21:5,1,2, 7(2x),8(3x), 10(3x),11 (2x),6:3, 5(2x),20	1S4:11; 5:8(4x), 10(3x), 11(2x); 6:3,5,11	4:4,7,8(2x), 11,13,17, 18,19,21, 22:5,1,2, 7(2x),8(3x), 10(3x),11 (2x),6:3, 5(2x),20	3:3,9:4: 5,23 (2x),24	6:11	
אדון											3:11,13; 4:7	3:11,	
אל											3:10	3:10	

[Table 6]

³⁸ Num 10:33-36 represents only יהוה (10: 33(2x), 34, 35, 36).

³⁹ This includes the construct form, prefixed definite article and suffixed forms such as אלהים, אלהי, etc.

The word יהוה occurs in all these ark texts, but אלהים does not appear in Num 10:33-36, Josh 6 and 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11. In Josh 3-4, all of the four divine epithets exist.

Here, we will have to pay attention to the two divine epithets of יהוה and אלהים. יהוה is synoptic in both 2 Sam 6 (including 5:11-25)//1 Chron 13-16 and 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5:1-14, but אלהים only in 2 Sam 6 (including 5:11-25)//1 Chron 13-16. Rose holds that the use of the epithet יהוה gradually decreases in relation to the development of the Israelite religion. According to him, since other gods did not exist any more in the faith, the necessity for the יהוה epithet which originally distinguished Israel's God from alien gods diminished. He insists that the use of יהוה lessens in post-exilic biblical texts. In particular, it never occurs in Esther, Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes.⁴⁰ Rothstein, Hänel and von Rad also contend that the transition of the divine epithet from Samuel to Chronicles, that is, from יהוה to אלהים, is the evidence of a transcendentalising of the divine name, which shows that Yahweh has gradually become estranged from the relationship with the human world.

However, if we look at [Table 6], we find that these arguments are somewhat overstated. We can see that יהוה occurs frequently in the ark stories of Chronicles (50 times) as well as in Samuel-Kings (55 times). And it occurs quite often in both synoptic texts of Solomon's and David's ark story. Furthermore, as Japhet argues, יהוה appears 559 times in Chronicles, which is more than the 473 times in Samuel and the 534 times in Kings. And in many contexts יהוה and אלהים clearly have the same meaning.⁴¹

Thus, it would be difficult for us to think that in relation to the divine epithets, יהוה and אלהים, the earlier יהוה in Samuel-Kings changed into the latter אלהים in Chronicles. Rather, in the study on the epithets of the ark (4.3.2), we can see that אלהים (ארון ה) seems to be prior to יהוה (ארון). The distribution of יהוה and אלהים in [Table 6] seems to support this. אלהים occurs evenly in 1 Chron 13-16, but in 1 Sam

⁴⁰ M. Rose, 'Name of God in the OT', in Freedman 1992: IV, 1002, 1010.

⁴¹ H.G.M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*.

4:1b-7:2, it is used mainly in 4-5,⁴² which scholars argue is the primary layer.⁴³ While on the contrary, יהוה appears chiefly in 1 Chron 15-16, which seem to be more reworked to 1 Chron 13. In 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 as well, יהוה is used mostly in 1 Sam 6, which is regarded as a secondary layer by scholars.⁴⁴ Thus, one could say that it is not impossible to suspect that אלהים is rather earlier than יהוה, and that the latter is gradually preferred by the authors or editors of these ark texts to emphasise and distinguish the Israelite God Yahweh from other gods.

4.3.5. כל-ישראל and כל-העם in Num 10:33-36, Josh 3-4, Josh 6, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5

The research on the occurrence of the phrases, כל-ישראל and כל-העם, will also provide useful information for our study because these phrases have already been studied as important concepts in the book of Chronicles.

⁴² For this, see A.G. Auld, 'What was the Main Source of the Books of Chronicles,' *Samuel at the Threshold*, 145-47.

⁴³ R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Vol. II* (2nd ed.; Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1909), 408; 6th ed.; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1925), 297; L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids*, BWANT III, 6 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1926), 119-22; A.F. Campbell, *The Ark Narrative (1 Sam 4-6; 2 Sam 6): A Form Critical and Traditio-Historical Study*, SBL Dissertation Series 16 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1975), 7, 21-2; A.G. Auld, 'What if the Chronicler Did Use the Deuteronomistic History?', *Samuel at the Threshold*, 145-47; Cf. R.E. Klein, *1 Samuel*, WBC, 36-61; Cf. A.F. Campbell, *1 Samuel*, FOTL VII (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 60-84.

⁴⁴ R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Vol. II*, 2nd ed., 408; 6th ed., 297; L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids*, 119-22; A.F. Campbell, *The Ark Narrative (1 Sam 4-6; 2 Sam 6)*, 7, 21-2; A.G. Auld, 'What if the Chronicler Did Use the Deuteronomistic History?', *Samuel at the Threshold*, 145-47; Cf. R.E. Klein, *1 Samuel*, WBC, 55; Cf. A.F. Campbell, *1 Samuel*, 76-84.

Name	Solomon's Ark 1Kgs7:51-8:11//2Chron5:1-14			David's Ark 2Sam 6//1Chron 13-16			1 Sam 4:11b-7:2			Josh 3-4			Josh 6	
	Kgs+or variants	Synoptic	Chr+or variants	2Sam6(including 2Sam5:11-25)+or variants			Synoptic	Chr+or variants	B	Q	MT	B	MT	
	B	MT		B	Q	MT								MT
כל-ישראל ⁴⁵	1K8:5					2S6:1 ⁴⁵		IC13:5,6,8,1 4,8;15:3,28	IS4:5		IS4:1,5		3:7,17; 4:14	
כל-ישראל ⁴⁶	1K8:1	1K8:2,5	1K8:3// 2C5:4	2S6: 1,15	2S6: 15 ⁴⁷	2S6:5; 15,19		IC13:2(2x); 16,3	IS7:2		IS7:2	3:7,17b	3:1	
ישראל				2S5: 17, 21a	2S5: 17	2S5:17; 6:21a	2S5:12a// 1C14:2a	IC16:40	IS4:1a, 1b,2a, 10b,18	IS4:10b	IS4:1, 2(2x),10 (2x),17, 18,21, 22	4:22	4:22	6:25
ישראל ⁴⁸		1K8:9// 2C5:10	2C5:2aa 2ab	2S6: 5,20	2S6: 5 ⁴⁹	2S6:20	2S5:12b// 1C14:2b	IC15:12,14, 25;16:4,13, 17,36	IS4:2b, 3,10a, 17,22;5; 7,8(2x), 10a,10b, 10b,11, 12;6:3	IS4: 10a,5; 8(3x), 10a,10b, 11;6:3	IS4:3:5; 7,8(3x), 10b,11; 6:3,5	3:9,12-4; 4,5,7, 8(2x), 12,14	3:9,12,4,4,5 7, 8(2x), 12,21	6:1,1 8, 23,27 5
כל-העם				2S6: 2, 19a	2S6: 2	2S6:2, 19a	2S6:19b// 1C16:43	IC13:4;16;36			IS4:11a	3:17b	4:11a	6:5a,5b, 20bβ, 20bδ
גם(ה)				2S6: 21a		2S6: 21a	2S6:18; 5:12b// 1C16:2; 14:2b	IC16:8,20	IS4:4, 17,10b; 6:19(2x)	IS4:4; 5:10b	IS4:3,4, 17:5,10, 11:6; 19(3)	3:3,5,6 (2x),14 (2x),16; 4:2,10 (2x),19	3:3,5,6(2x), 14(2x),16:4- 2,10(2x),11 b,19	6:5b, 7, 8,10, 20a 16,2 0(4x)
כל-ישראל ⁴⁹								IC16:24,26, 28				4:24	4:24	
גם(ה)														

[Table 7]

⁴⁵ Even though 2 Sam 6:1 has יִשְׂרָאֵל is verbal form (Qal, passive participle of בָּרַךְ), since בָּרַךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל has יִשְׂרָאֵל as a transformation of בָּרַךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל.
⁴⁶ x: noun in this table.
⁴⁷ B, 4QSam^a, and MT-2 Sam 6:15 have יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּית, but 1 Chron 15:28 has יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּית. Here יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּית seems to be a synoptic expression here.
⁴⁸ In Num 10:33-36, only יִשְׂרָאֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל appears once in v 36.
⁴⁹ B, 4QSam^a Sam 6:5 uses יִשְׂרָאֵל בני, but MT-2 Sam 6:15 has יִשְׂרָאֵל בני and 1 Chron 13:8 has יִשְׂרָאֵל בני. Here יִשְׂרָאֵל בני appears to be a synoptic expression.

Japhet understood כל-ישראל in Chronicles extensively not only as an ethnic concept but also as a geographical concept. According to her, the concept of the Israelite people in Chronicles is not limited to the traditional twelve tribes concept, but means all the inhabitants of Israel, including the sojourners.⁵⁰ She seems to appreciate the feature of כל-ישראל in Chronicles properly. However, according to Auld, this does not mean that all the expressions of כל-ישראל in Samuel-Kings are 'original' or 'earlier' and that those in Chronicles are secondary.⁵¹ In the table above, although כל-ישראל appears several times in 1 Chron 13-16, it also appears in MT-1 Sam 4:1, LXX^B and MT-1 Sam 4:5, MT-2 Sam 6:1, LXX^B-1 Kgs 8:5. In addition, this expression is used in non-synoptic texts. If we see 2 Sam 11:1, 1 Kgs 5:27; 8:62; 12:18, they have כל-ישראל, but in the corresponding texts, 1 Chron 20:1; 2 Chron 2:16; 7:4; 10:18, it does not occur.

Besides this, the construct form of כל-א-ישראל is synoptic in 1 Kgs 8:3//2 Chron 5:4 and occurs as often in almost all of the ark movement narratives except for Num 10:33-36 and Josh 6. ישראל – noun construct form is also a synoptic expression in both David's and Solomon's ark story. This expression occurs most frequently in these ark texts. ישראל is synoptic as well.

כל-העם is used in the synoptic text of 2 Sam 6:19b//1 Chron 16:43 and in some other verses. (ה)עם is also a synoptic expression in 2 Sam 5:12b//1 Chron 14:2b and 2 Sam 6:18//1 Chron 16:2. 1 Kgs 8:62, 63 has כל-ישראל and its corresponding text, 2 Chron 7:4, 5 reads כל-העם. Therefore, with regard to this expression one cannot say that Samuel-Kings is prior to Chronicles. In this case, the freshness of כל-העם in Chronicles could be understood as a *lectio difficilior*.⁵²

⁵⁰ S. Japhet, *I and II Chronicles*, 46-7; idem, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ, 9; Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang, 1997; 2nd ed. [1989]), 270-78.

⁵¹ A.G. Auld, 'What if the Chronicler Did Use the Deuteronomistic History?', *Samuel at the Threshold*, 148-49 takes a similar view.

⁵² R.C. Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark: Text, Language and Story in 2 Samuel 6 and 1 Chronicles 13, 15-16* (Thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D to the University of Edinburgh, 2004), 316; For more detailed explanation on this, see R.C. Rezetko, 301-34.

4.3.6. Additional Evidence

4.3.6.1. War Motif

Among the ark narratives, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5 do not include a military theme. Yet, in all the other texts, the ark stories appear to evolve in a war related context. 2 Sam 5:11-6:23//1 Chron 13-16 and 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 are related to the war against the Philistines, and Josh 3-4, 6 to the Canaanite conquest. Num 10:33-36 also seems to be connected with war, with which Israel is confronted in the wilderness.⁵³

In these texts of the ark's transportation, two words, which mean 'armed', exist: חֲמִשִּׁים (Josh 4:12; 1 Sam 6:19⁵⁴); חֲלִיץ (Josh 4:13; Josh 6:7, 9, 13). In Josh 6:7, 9, 13 only חֲלִיץ and in 1 Sam 6:19 only חֲמִשִּׁים occur, but in Josh 4:12-13 both of them appear.

חֲמֵה (מַחֲנֶה), which is related to battle camp, occurs frequently in these ark texts: Num 9:17, 18, 20, 22, 23; 10:2, 5, 6, 14, 18, 22, 25, 31, 34; Josh 3:2; 4:19; 6:11, 14, 18, 23; 1 Sam 4:1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9; 1 Chron 14:15, 16.

In Num 9:15-10:36 varied war language is used; and especially in Num 10:13-28, each tribe has its own standard and systematic military formation when it marches. The military march formation in Numbers seems to be the most developed and systematised description of war among the ark narratives.

4.3.6.2. The placement of 2 Sam 5:11-25 and 1 Chron 14⁵⁵

The placement of the synoptic text about the alliance with King Hiram of Tyre, of David's sons born in Jerusalem, and of the battle against the Philistines is

⁵³ M. Noth, *Das vierte Buch Moses, Numeri* (ATD 7, Göttingen, 1966), 71-72

⁵⁴ In 1 Sam 6:19, it could mean the number '50', but the consonants are the same as in Josh 4:12. There is a textual point, to which we have to pay attention here. In the MT, LXX, and other witnesses, this word was added.

⁵⁵ 1 Chron 14 is included in this study, because it is in the context of the ark's movement in 1 Chron 13-16, but 2 Sam 5:11-25 is only when it is required because it is not an ark story.

different in Samuel and Chronicles. These events occur before the story of David's transportation of the ark into his city in 2 Samuel 6, but are placed in the context of its movement into Jerusalem in 1 Chron 13-16. 1 Chron 15:1-24, 16:4-42 includes much non-synoptic, special material. Because of these variants, scholars have traditionally given priority to the disposition of 2 Samuel and held that Chronicles reproduced its arrangement and amplified 2 Sam 6 through its own special material.⁵⁶ Japhet holds that the Chronicler moved the material into its present context from the original arrangement of 2 Samuel, 'in which the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem is the first act of David as king'.⁵⁷ Agreeing with Japhet's position, McKenzie contends that the Chronicler changed the location of 2 Sam 5:11-25 and 6:1-11.⁵⁸ In addition, he points out the problem of the arrangement in Chronicles: namely, there being no interval between the events in 1 Chron 12 and those in 1 Chron 13; the inevitability of encountering the Philistines while David was bringing the ark to Jerusalem; and the impossibility of the three-month interval between the first and second attempts to bring the ark into Jerusalem for the items in 1 Chron 14.⁵⁹

However, as Japhet herself says,

[f]rom a purely literary point of view there is actually no break between ch. 12 and ch. 13, no concluding formula at the end of ch. 12, and no new introduction for ch. 13. No passage of time is indicated; those 'who remain (הנשארים) in all the territories of Israel' (13.2) are identifiable with 'the rest (שרית) of Israel' of 12.38.

According to Samuel, David first built his house, then his descendants flourished in Jerusalem; and, after he defeated the Philistines, he finally placed the

⁵⁶ C. T. Begg, 'The Ark in Chronicles', in M. P. Graham, S.L. McKenzie and G. N. Knoppers (eds.), *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein* (T&T Clark International: London, 2003), 133-145.

⁵⁷ S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 272.

⁵⁸ S.L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 133.

⁵⁹ S.L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 133-134.

ark into his temple in Jerusalem. In Chronicles, David wants to bring the ark to Jerusalem, because Israel did not turn to it during the reign of Saul. However, in the course of its transportation, Uzzah touched the ark, God struck down Uzzah and the ark stayed in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite. While the ark was in the house of Obed-edom, David suppressed the Philistines and built in Jerusalem. Finally David brought the ark, the symbol of the presence of God, to Jerusalem. It is not easy to decide which arrangement is earlier and original. Rather, it might be safer to think that Samuel and Chronicles arrange the shared material in 2 Sam 5:11-25//1 Chron 14 (BTH) according to their own purposes. Moreover, each text has its own special material: In 2 Sam 6 the debate between Michal and David in vv 20-23 is described, while 1 Chron 13-16 explains the role of the priests and the Levites in 15:1-24 and 16:4-42. Even though 1 Chron 13-16 has a considerable amount of special material, since 2 Sam 6 also contains its own special material, we could not say which one is prior simply by considering the quantity of special material in the text.

4.3.6.3. The transportation of the ark and the playing of musical instruments

One of the frequently appearing themes in the relationship with the transportation of the ark is the playing of musical instruments. In 2 Chron 5, the role of the Levites in performing on musical instruments is mentioned (vv 12, 13), but in 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11, which is equivalent to this text, there is no reference to this. The text in which the most detailed materials of the list of musical instruments and their performance appear is 1 Chron 13-16 (13:8; 15:16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 28; 16:5, 6, 42). However, in 2 Sam 6, which is synoptic with 1 Chron 13-16,⁶⁰ it is referred to once, in v 5. In 1 Chron 13-16 the role of the Levites in transporting the ark is described. Their role in the musical activities is closely explained and in 15:24 the names of

⁶⁰ 'Synoptic' is used here in its conventional sense.

seven priests, who blew trumpets, are listed. Josh 6 also provides a relatively detailed reference to the music in relation to the transportation of the ark: Josh 6:4, 5, 8, 13, 16, 20. In Josh 6, the number seven is stressed, especially in vv 4, 8, 13: there are seven priests who blew the trumpets in front of the ark. In Num 10:2-10, the ways of blowing trumpets (חֲצֹצְרוֹת) and marching are described in detail. In sum, the most detailed information about musical instruments is found in Chronicles, then in Josh 6 and Num 10:2-10. There is little reference to music and instruments in Samuel-Kings.

It is also interesting to inquire into the names of these musical instruments in the ark texts. If we tabulate their distribution, the result is as follows.

Name	Solomon's Ark 1Kgs7:51-8:11//2Chron5:1-14			David's Ark 2Sam 6//Chron 13-16			1Sam4:1b -7:2				Josh 3-4		Josh 6		
	K g s + o r variants	S y n o p t i c	C h r + or variants	2Sam6+or variants			S y n o p t i c	C h r + o r variants	B	Q	M T	B	MT	B	MT
	B	MT		B	Q	MT									
המקדש			2C5:12,13					15:16							
מגלחים			2C5:12,13					13:8; 15:16, 19, 28; 16:5, 42							
נבלים			2C5:12				2S6:5// 1C13:8	13:15:16, 20, 28; 16:5							
כנרת			2C5:12				2S6:5// 1C13:8	13:15:16, 21, 28; 16:5							
ה'הצצות			2C5:12,13					13:8; 15:24, 28; 16:6, 42							
מחצצרים			2C5:13					15:24							
כלי השיר			2C5:13												
שירים				2S6:5	2S6:5 ⁶²			13:8							
תללים				2S6:5	2S6:5										
תפנים							2S6:5// 1C13:8								
טופר(ה)							2S6:15 //1C15: 28andβ,							6:4(2x),5,6,8 (2x),13(3x),16, 20(2x)	6:4(2x),5,6,8 (2x),13(3x),16, 20(2x)
מנענעים					2S6:5	2S6:5									
גלצצלים				2S6:5		2S6:5									
קץ															V 5

[Table 8]

⁶¹ Cf. Num 10:2, 8, 9, 10.

⁶² B, 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:5, 1 Chron 13:8 have שירים, but MT-2 Sam 6:5 has ברושים.

According to [Table 8] above, נבלים, כנרות, חפים are synoptic expressions, found in both 2 Sam 6:5 and 1 Chron 13:8, and the source of names in other non-synoptic passages. Here again, B, 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:5, 1 Chron 13:8 use שירים, but MT-2 Sam 6:5 uses ברושים. The antecedent words are עז in B, 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:5, in 1 Chron 13:8 it is עז, but עץ in MT-2 Sam 6:5.

Moreover, שופר in 2 Sam 6:15//1 Chron 15:28αβ also appears in Josh 6 twelve times (vv 4 (2x), 5, 6, 8 (2x), 13 (3x), 16, 20 (2x)).⁶³

Thus, if we synthesise our analysis on the themes of playing musical instruments and on their names, the possible conclusions include: (a) the synoptic 2 Sam 6:5//1 Chron 13:8 is the source of other non-synoptic expressions in 1 Chron 13-16, 2 Chron 5; (b) שופר in 2 Sam 6:15//1 Chron 15:28αβ is the source of that in Josh 6; (c) B, 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:5 also support the priority of 1 Chron 13:8 to MT-2 Sam 6:5.

4.3.6.4. חרועה / רוע in Num 10:5, 6, 7, 9, Josh 6:5, 10, 16, 20, 1 Sam 4:5, 6, 2 Sam 6:15//1 Chron 15:28αβ

חרועה and its verbal form רוע is also one of the frequently used expressions in these ark narratives. Nelson contends that חרועה (meaning battle cry) is ‘a motif of the divine war tradition (1 Sam 4:5; 17:20, 52; etc.)’.⁶⁴ According to Kang, the battle cry plays an important role in the emergence of the Jericho conquest story.⁶⁵ In Josh 6, the nominal form appears in vv 5, 20 and the verbal form in vv 5, 10, 16, 20. In Num 10, the nominal form appears in vv 5, 6 and the verbal form in vv 7, 9. חרועה in 2 Sam 6:15//1 Chron 15:28αβ appears also in Num 10, Josh 6, and 1 Sam 4.

In Josh 6, ‘to shout’ is one of the major expressions: In Josh 6:10, the people

⁶³ 1 Chron 15:28αβ is not part of the source material: it is Chronicles’ plus (part of an expansion of the second half of 2 Sam 6).

⁶⁴ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 93. For more of this, see G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, 1991), 41-51..

⁶⁵ S.M. Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East* (BZAW 177: Berlin, 1989).

of Israel are commanded to keep quiet for six days to make the battle cry of the seventh day more dramatic: לא תדיעו ולא תשמיעו את קולכם ולא יצא מפיכם דבר ('You shall not shout or let your voice be heard, nor shall you utter a word'). In Josh 6:16, 20, Israel breaks its silence, makes a loud warcry, and the narrative of the Jericho conquest reaches its climax. In Num 10, the ways of using or not using 'war cry' in marching and in battle are described in a more systematic and concrete manner.

Thus, it is possible to conclude that חרועה in 2 Sam 6:15//1 Chron 15:28^{αβ} is the source of the similar expression in Num 10, Josh 6, and 1 Sam 4.

4.3.6.5. The problem of geographical names between Kiriath-jearim and Baale-judah

In 2 Sam 6 and 1 Chron 13-16 the ark is carried to Jerusalem. However, the place names from where David brings the ark into his city are not consistent: Kiriath-jearim or Baale-judah in 1 Chron 13 and Baale-judah in 2 Sam 6. According to 1 Sam 6:21-7:2, when the ark, which had been captured by the Philistines, was returned, the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim took it to the house of Abinadab. In 2 Sam 6:2, David and 30,000 chosen men carried the ark to Baale-judah. There is no explanation of the geographical discontinuity. However, according to 1 Chron 13:6, the two place names denote the same geographical area: 'And David and all Israel went up to "Baalath, that is, to Kiriath-jearim..."'. Traditionally, scholars have thought that 1 Chron 13:6 was inserted to solve the discontinuity.⁶⁶ However, we cannot simply accept this, because Joshua repeats the claim that Baalah is Kiriath-jearim in 1 Chron 13: קריית בעל היא קריית יערים (Josh 15:9), קריית בעל היא קריית יערים (Josh 15:60). 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:2 also represents a similar expression to 1 Chron 13:6:

⁶⁶ For this, see , P.K. McCarter, *I Samuel*, 137; idem, *II Samuel*, AB (Doubleday:New York, 1984), 162-63; R.W. Klein, *I Samuel*, 60; idem, *II Samuel*, WBC (Waco: Texas, 1989), 99; S.J. Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel: The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts*. OBO 57 (Freiburg, Switzerland: Universitätsverlag, 1984), 101-4; G.N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10-29*, 586; A.F. Campbell, *2 Samuel*, FOTL VIII (Grand Rapids, Michigan; Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 2005), 65.

בעלה היא קריח יערים. We should entertain two possibilities once again: first, the reading of MT in Samuel is *lectio difficilior* and is earlier than Chronicles and Joshua; second, the understanding in 1 Chron 13 is prior to that in 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 and 2 Sam 6 (MT), and Josh 15 and 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:2 support its authority and priority.

4.3.6.6. עד היום הזה (2 Sam 6:8//1 Chron 13:11; 1 Kgs 8:8//2 Chron 5:9; Josh 4:9; 6:25; 1 Sam 5:5; 6:18)

This phrase (עד היום הזה) occurs 96 times in the Old Testament.⁶⁷ The distribution state of this expression is as follows: Gen (5), Exod (1), Lev (1), Num (1), Deut (8), Josh (19), Jdg (7), Sam (13), Kgs (16), Chron (10), Ezr (2), Neh (1), Isa (2), Jer (6), Eze (2). It appears most frequently in Joshua, and in Chronicles, Samuel-Kings, and Judges

In almost all the texts in which the ark is carried to some place of promise, the phrase עד היום הזה occurs: 2 Sam 6:8//1 Chron 13:11; 1 Kgs 8:8//2 Chron 5:9; Josh 4:9; 6:25; 1 Sam 5:5; 6:18. The exception is Num 10:33-36.⁶⁸ It is quite interesting that in almost all the ark narratives, in which the ark is carried to some place, in Chronicles and the Former Prophets, the expression עד היום הזה, which attests to aetiological concerns, appears.

4.3.6.7. יד יהוה (Josh 4:24; 1 Sam 5:6, 9)

This phrase appears 39 times in the Hebrew Bible: Exod 9:3; 16:3; Deut 2:15; Josh 4:24; 22:31; Jdg 2:15; Rut 1:13; 1 Sam 5:6, 9; 7:13; 12:15; 2 Sam 24:14; 1

⁶⁷ Gen 26:33; 31:48; 32:33; 47:26; 48:15; Exod 10:6; Lev 23:14; Num 22:30; Deut 2:22; 3:14(2x); 9:7(2x); 10:8; 11:4; 29:3; 34:6; Josh 4:9; 5:9(2x); 6:25; 7:26(2x); 8:28, 29(2x); 9:27; 10:27; 13:13; 14:14; 15:63; 16:10; 22:3; 22:17; 23:8, 9; Jdg 1:21, 26; 6:24; 10:4; 15:19; 18:12; 19:30; 1 Sam 5:5; 6:18; 12:2; 5:2(x); 27:6; 29:3, 6, 8; 30:25; 2 Sam 4:3; 6:8; 7:6; 18:18; 1 Kgs 8:8; 9:13, 21; 10:12; 12:19; 2 Kgs 2:22; 7:9; 8:22; 14:7; 16:6; 17:23(2x), 34, 41; 19:3; 20:17; 1 Chron 4:41, 43; 5:26; 13:11; 17:5; 2 Chron 5:9; 8:8; 10:19; 21:10; Ezr 9:7(2x); Neh 9:32; Isa 37:3; 39:6; Jer 7:25(2x); 32:20(2x); 35:14; 44:10; Eze 2:3; 20:29.

⁶⁸ This expression appears just once in Num 22:30.

Kgs 18:46; 2 Kgs 3:15; 1 Chron 21:13; 28:19; 2 Chron 29:25; Ezr 7:6, 28; Job 12:9; Pss 75:9; Pro 21:1; Isa 19:16; 25:10; 40:2; 41:20; 51:17; 59:1; 62:3; 66:14; Jer 25:17; 51:7; Eze 1:3; 3:14, 22; 8:1 (יד ארני יהוה); 33:22; 37:1; 40:1. Of these, only 1 Sam 5:6, 9 and Josh 4:24 are related to the movements of the ark.

In 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, the Philistines marvel at the power of God's hand. In 1 Sam 4:8, to describe Yahweh's hand, which struck the Egyptians, the Philistines use the expression, 'from the hand of the mighty gods' (מיד האלהים האדירים). The phrase, יד האלהים, is rare in the Old Testament. It is only attested in 1 Sam 5:11; 2 Chron 30:12; and Ecc 2:24; 9:1. In 1 Sam 5:4, both hands of Dagon, Philistine's god, were lying cut off and could do nothing to protect its people from the God of Israel while 'the hand of Yahweh' keeps appearing as the symbol of power, fighting alone in the land of the Philistines and leading His people to victory (5:6, 7, 9, 11; 6: 3, 5, 9). In addition, in Josh 4:24, the hand of Yahweh is described not as the symbol of power, which is a comparable object with the gods of the gentiles, but as the absolute symbol of power, which all the people of the lands know and revere. Here, the point of which we have to take note, is that Josh 4:24 shares the expression יד יהוה, with 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, which is a non-synoptic text, and shows a theologically developed element.

4.3.6.8. אתמול שלשים (1 Sam 4:8); (Josh 3:4; 4:18); מתמול שלשים

אתמול שלשים occurs in 1 Sam 4:8; 10:11; 14:21; 19:7; 2 Sam 5:2; 1 Chron 11:2. Josh 3-4 has similar expressions: מתמול שלשים (Josh 3:4), אתמול שלשים (Josh 4:18). Except this, מתמול שלשים is also used in Exod 21:36; Deut 4:42; 19:6; Josh 20:5 and אתמול שלשים in Gen 31:2; Exod 5:7, 14; Josh 4:18; 1 Sam 21:6; 2 Kgs 13:5.

4.3.6.9. יחקדשו and החקדשו (Josh 3:5; 1 Chron 15:12, 14; 2 Chron 5:11)

The word החקדשו is also linked with the movements of the ark. It appears in

Josh 3:5; 1 Chron 15:12; 2 Chron 5:11: hithpael, imperative, plural in Josh 3:5 and 1 Chron 15:12 and 3rd person, plural, imperfect in 1 Chron 15:14, hithpael, perfect, 3rd person, plural in 2 Chron 5:11. It is important to note that *התקדשו* is a non-synoptic expression, which does not appear in 2 Sam 6 and 1 Kgs 8, although it does in 1 Chron 15 and 2 Chron 5. In 1 Chron 15:11, 14, the Levites and priests sanctify themselves, but in 2 Chron 5:11, only the priests do. Moreover, in Josh 3:5, all the people of Israel are ordered to sanctify themselves. Thus, the expression in Josh 3:5 seems to be more generalised and developed. Therefore, Josh 3:5 is related to the non-synoptic expression, *התקדשו* in Chronicles.

4.3.6.10. נפלאהו (Josh 3:5; 1 Chron 16:9, 12, 24)

נפלא is mainly used in the niphil form, and occasionally in the hiphil form, and three times in the piel form in the Old Testament (Lev 22:21, Num 15:3, 8).

The niphil form of *נפלא* appears in: Gen 18:14; Exo 3:20; 34:10; Deut 17:8; 30:11; Josh 3:5; Jdg 6:13; 2 Sam 1:26; 13:2; 1 Chron 16:9, 12, 24; Neh 9:17; Jb 5:9; 9:10; 37:5; 14; 42:3; Pss 9:1(2); 26:7; 40:5(6); 71:17; 72:18; 75:1(2); 78:4, 11, 32; 86:10; 96:3; 98:1; 105:2, 5; 106:7, 22; 107:8, 15, 21, 24, 31; 111:4; 118:23; 119:18, 27; 131:1; 136:4; 139:14; 145:5; Prov 30:18; Jer 21:2; 32:17, 27; Dan 8:24; 11:36; Mic 7:15; Zec 8:6(2x). Of these, in Josh 3:5 and 1 Chron 16:9, 12, 24, which describe the ark's movements, *נפלא* is always in the participle form.

4.3.6.11. וישכמו (Josh 6:15; 1 Sam 5:3, 4) and וישכמו (Josh 3:1; 6:12)

ישכמו is used sixty four times in the Old Testament, and only in the hiphil form. *ישכמו* occurs 28 times in singular form, 22 times in plural form, and 14 times in infinitive form. If we tabulate the subjects of *ישכמו* from Genesis to Chronicles, in which *ישכמו* occurs frequently, the result is as follows:

Gen	Sg	Abraham (19:27; 21:14; 22:3), Abimelech (20:8), Jacob (28:18), Laban (31:55 (32:1))
	Pl	Two angels (19:20), Isaac and Abimelech (26:31)

Exod	Sg	Moses (8:16; 9:13; 24:4; 34:4)
	Pl	Israel (32:6)
Josh	Sg	Josh (3:1; 6:12; 7:16; 8:10)
	Pl	Israel (6:15; 8:14)
Judg	Sg	Gideon (6:38), Jerubbaal(Gideon) (7:1), Abimelech (9:33), A Levite (19:8)
	Pl	The men of the city (6:28), A Levite and his concubine (19:5), A Levite and his concubine and servant (19:9)
Sam	Sg	Samuel (1 Sam 15:12), David (1 Sam 17:20; 29:10), Absalom (2 Sam 15:2)
	Pl	Elkanah and Hannah (1 Sam 1:19), Ashdod people (1 Sam 5:3, 4), Samuel and Saul (1 Sam 9:26), David and his men (1 Sam 29:10, 11)
Kgs	Sg	The servant of the man of God (2 Kgs 6:15)
	Pl	The Moabites (2 Kgs 3:22), They (2 Kgs 19:35)
Chron	Sg	Hezekian (2 Chron 29:20)
	Pl	The Inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem (2 Chron 20:20)

[Table 9]

As we can see in [Table 9], שכם is used to highlight the diligence of the subject. Especially in Genesis, Exodus and Joshua, it is used to stress the leadership role of Abraham, Moses and Joshua.

In these ark texts, it usually appears as waw consecutive, hiphil, imperfect form. In Josh 6:15; 1 Sam 5:3, 4, it appears in plural form, in Josh 3:1; 6:12 in singular form. In Josh 3:1; 6:12, the subject of שכם is Joshua, in Josh 6:15, the people Israel, in 1 Sam 5:3, 4, Ashdod people.

4.3.6.12. קציר-חטים (LXX-Josh 3:15; 1 Sam 6:13)

קציר-חטים occurs in Gen 30:14, Exod 34:22, LXX Josh 3:15, Judg 15:1, 1 Sam 6:13; 12:17. MT-Josh 3:15 כל ימי קציר is attested instead of קציר-חטים in LXX-Josh 3:15. As we have seen in Chapter Three, it seems that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Josh 3:15 had קציר-חטים as in 1 Sam 6:13, and the MT changed the phrase into כל ימי קציר to stress and generalise this expression.

4.3.6.13. מלמעלה (Josh 3:13, 16; 1 Kgs 8:7// 2 Chron 5: 8)

מלמעלה appears in Gen 6:16; 7:20; Exod 25:21; 26:14; 36:19; 39:31; 40:19, 20; Num 4:6; 25; Josh 3:13, 16; Jdg 8:13; 1 Kgs 7:11, 25; 8:7; 2 Chron 4:4; 5:8; Jer 31:37; Eze 1:11, 22, 26; 10:19; 11: 22; 37:8.

In 1 Kgs 7:25 and 2 Chron 4:4, which are synoptic, מלמעלה is used to

describe the position of the cast sea which stood on twelve oxen in Solomon's temple. In 1 Kgs 8:7 and 2 Chron 5:8, which are also synoptic, this word is used to delineate the wings of the cherubim, which spread out above the ark and its poles. In Josh 3:13, 16, it is employed to describe the waters, which are flowing down from above toward the procession of the people, crossing the Jordan following the ark. In Exodus (Exod 25:21; 26:14; 36:19; 39:31; 40:19, 20), it depicts the shape of divine vessels related to the Tabernacle: the propitiatory seat on the ark (25:21; 40:20); the fine leather or tent covering the tabernacle (26:14; 36:19; 40:19); and the violet cord on the high priest's turban (39:31). In these Exodus texts, the word מלמעלה is put to use in various and developed ways. Even though it is used differently in Joshua, the fact that it is used at all may suggest further influence from BTH (=The Book of Two Houses).⁶⁹ The employment of the word in the texts of Exod 25-40 seems to reflect that in both synoptic texts (1 Kgs 7:25//2 Chron 4:4, 1 Kgs 8:7//2 Chron 5:8).

4.3.6.14. מחר (Josh 3:5; 4:6, 21); מחרת (1 Sam 5:3, 4)

מחר occurs frequently in the Old Testament. In 1 Sam 5:3, 4, it means 'tomorrow or the next day', but in Josh 3-4, it acquires an extended meaning: not only 'the next day' (Josh 3:5) but also 'in the future or in the time to come' (Josh 4:6, 21).

4.3.6.15. מהר (Josh 4:10; 1 Sam 4:14)

מהר is mainly used in the piel form in the Old Testament and rarely in the qal form, but in piel form in the ark texts. In Josh 4:10, it means that the people crossed the Jordan quickly and in 1 Sam 4:14 it means that the messenger was in a hurry.

⁶⁹ According to Auld, the synoptic narratives in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles tell 'the story of the house (dynasty) of David in Jerusalem and of the house (temple) that Solomon built there for Yahweh from the beginnings at the death of Saul until the uprooting and removal of both by the Babylonians.' And '[t]his "Book of Two Houses" was then extended, supplemented, and reinterpreted independently and in very different ways in Samuel-Kings and in Chronicles.' A.G. Auld, 'The Former Prophets', 67.

4.3.6.16. אוצר יהוה (Josh 6:19); אוצר בית־יהוה (Josh 6:24)⁷⁰; באצרות בית יהוה (1 Kgs 7:51)// באצרות בית האלהים (2 Chron 5:1)

אוצר appears frequently in the Old Testament: Deut 28:12; 32:34; Josh 6:19, 24; 1 Kgs 7:51; 14:26; 15:18; 2 Kgs 12:18(9); 14:14; 16:8; 18:15; 20:13, 15; 24:13; 1 Chron 9:26; 26:20, 22, 24, 26; 27:25, 27, 28; 28:12; 29:8; 2 Chron 5:1; 8:15; 11:11; 12:9; 16:2; 25:24; 32:27; 36:18; Ezr 2:69; Neh 7:70, 71, 10:38(39); 12:44; 13:12, 13; Job 38:22; Pss 33:7; 135:7; Prov 8:21; 10:2; 15:16; 21:6, 20; Isa 2:7; 30:6; 33:6; 39:2, 4; 45:3; Jer 10:13; 15:13; 17:3; 20:5; 38:11; 48:7; 49:4; 50:25, 37; 51:13, 16; Eze 28:4; Dan 1:2; Hos 13:15; Joel 1:17; Mic 6:10; Mal 3:10.

In 1 Kgs 7:51 and 2 Chron 5:1, which are synoptic texts, once Solomon had finished building the house of Yahweh, he stored the silver, the gold, and all the vessels in 'the treasures of the house of God'. In Josh 6:19, Joshua commands the people to take all the silver and gold, and all the bronze and iron vessels to 'the treasury of Yahweh' and in Josh 6:24 the people of Israel put these into 'the treasury of the house of Yahweh'. However, the phrase, 'the treasury of the house of Yahweh' in the context of the battle of Jericho (Josh 6:24), seems to be out of place because it is anachronistic. It might be that 1 Kgs 7:51//2 Chron 5:1 influenced this passage. We will discuss this a little further in the study on the literary history of Josh 6 below.

4.3.6.17. הענן in 1 Kgs 8:10b//2 Chron 5:13b; 1 Kgs 8:11//2 Chron 5:14; Num 10:34; cf. 9:15-23; 10:11-12

A 'cloud' and 'glory', which are symbols of Yahweh's presence, appear in the main hall of the house of Yahweh in 1 Kgs 8:10b//2 Chron 5:13b and 1 Kgs 8:11//2 Chron 5:14. The cloud stopped the priests from continuing the service. Japhet

⁷⁰ בית is MT plus in Josh 6:24.

holds that here the use of *הענן* recalls the divine visitation in Exod 40:34-35 and the 'pillar of cloud' in Num 12:5; Deut 31:15.⁷¹ In Exod 40, the cloud and glory are used separately.

The cloud, [on the one hand,] dwells on the tabernacle from without, is visible to the whole people and with its arising signals the time to break camp and resume the journey. The glory, on the other hand, fills the tabernacle from within, and even Moses himself cannot then enter it (cf. Exod. 40. 35 et al.; also Ezek. 10.4).⁷²

However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the descriptions of the cloud and glory in Exod 40 and Num 9:15-23; 10:11-12 are more developed, thus these texts were influenced by the synoptic text 1 Kgs 8:10b//2 Chron 5:13b and 1 Kgs 8:11//2 Chron 5:14. Although in 1 Kgs 8:10b//2 Chron 5:13b and 1 Kgs 8:11//2 Chron 5:14 (BTH), 'cloud' and 'glory' are used as synonyms, in Exod 40, as Japhet herself mentions, the distinction between them is explained clearly. In Num 9:15-23; 10:11-12, 34, the cloud is a signal to the people about when to camp or when to leave: when it lifts from the Tabernacle it is time to leave, but when it rests on it the people are to remain in camp. This detailed description of the role of the cloud points to a more developed and systematised text.

4.3.6.18. As we can see from this general analysis of the additional evidence (4.3.6.), only some of the word studies directly suggest influence from the synoptic material to Joshua.

4.3.7. Summary

The analysis above demonstrates that the narratives about the movements

⁷¹ S. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 581.

⁷² S. Japhet, *I&II Chronicles*, 581.

and whereabouts of the ark share a number of words, phrases, and some major themes: the epithets of the ark, the verbs used to describe the movement of the ark, the priests and the Levites as the carriers of the ark, the divine epithets, all Israel and all the people, the names of musical instruments, motifs of war, etc.

ארון יהוה, ארון האלהים, ארון יהוה (ה), ארון ברית יהוה, הארון are basic epithets for the ark which appear in Num 10:33-36 to 2 Chron 5. We can see from [Table 3] that other epithets, added to those basic names in 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16 and 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5, the epithets of the ark in the Former Prophets appear to have gradually increased. Of course, we cannot exclude the opposite possibility that the two epithets in Num 10:33-36, הארון, ארון ברית יהוה (ה), gave rise to the development of other epithets in the Former Prophets. However, if we look into the verbs used for the carrying of the ark, the probability of the latter seems to be rather small. Indeed, [Table 4] suggests that these verbs also seem to have been developed from נשא in 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5 into various words in the Former Prophets, while the verbs in Num 10:33-36 do not seem to exert any influence on the verbs used in the ark texts in Chronicles and the Former Prophets. Other words and expressions including the names of musical instruments also seem to support the new way of reading the literary history of these texts, as Auld suggested, that the shared materials by Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are earlier than the story of Israel before the monarchy.

It was also found that Joshua and non-synoptic texts in Chronicles share some expressions: for example, those non-synoptic ark texts in Chronicles and Josh 3-4 share the compound word הַכֹּהֲנִים (ו)הַלְוִיִּם. There seem to be some later special materials, which are also shared by non-synoptic texts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, and Joshua. The analysis of additional points also supports this position: אֶחָד מִלְּוִיִּם (1 Sam 4:8) and אֶחָד מִלְּוִיִּם (Josh 3:4; 4:18);⁷³ יָד יְהוָה (Josh 4:24; 1 Sam 5:6, 9);⁷⁴ וַיִּשְׁכְּמוּ (Josh 6:15; 1 Sam 5:3,

⁷³ See 4.3.6.7.

⁷⁴ See 4.3.6.8.

4) and וישכם (Josh 3:1; 6:12);⁷⁶ מחרת (1 Sam 5:3, 4); מחר (Josh 3:5; 4:6, 21);⁷⁷ מחר (Josh 4:10; 1 Sam 4:14),⁷⁸ etc.

This study also revealed that where B, 4QSam^a agree with each other, they quite often agree with Chronicles but not with MT Samuel.⁷⁹ Therefore, this writer could guess that in terms of the synoptic texts, Chronicles seems to have been written before Samuel was revised into MT-Samuel. However, this does not mean that the non-synoptic elements of Chronicles are earlier than pre-MT Samuel.

Bearing in mind these points, the writer intends to read these ark texts and provide a possible literary history of each text. Of course, we cannot still definitively claim that we should read these texts in historical, and not canonical, order. Yet, mainstream research so far on these texts has not considered this challenge and has focused solely on exploration by the canonical order. Thus, this study will consider the challenges caused by the preliminary analysis above, and will attempt to suggest possible examples to read these texts in literary-historical order.

4.4. The Literary Historical Reading of Josh 3-4 in the Context of the Following Ark Narratives: Num 10:33-36, Josh 3-4, Josh 6, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5

In this section, considering the challenges raised by the preliminary analysis in 4.3, we will investigate the literary history of Josh 3-4 in the context of ark texts, in which the ark moves to the land of promise, in literary-historical order. First, we will consider the recent trend in the argument on the relationship between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, which was also raised in 4.3.

⁷⁵ See 4.3.6.10.

⁷⁶ See 4.3.6.11.

⁷⁷ See 4.3.6.14.

⁷⁸ See 4.3.6.15.

⁷⁹ See footnote 24~28, 30.

4.4.1. Ark Stories in the books of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5)

The presentation of the divided kingdom in Chronicles and Kings exhibits a number of common characteristics that made these books reliable witnesses to Israel's past and was understood to have been based on prior material known to the writers of both.⁸⁰ Eichhorn, a representative of the research history of Chronicles in the pre-critical period, held that the accounts in 1 and 2 Kings on the one hand and 2 Chronicles on the other derive from a common source and that Ezra⁸¹ often utilized other sources besides taking excerpts from materials of the common source with extensive histories of Israel and Judah.⁸²

However, since de Wette maintained that the Chronicler used Samuel and Kings as a source in the first volume of his *Beiträge*,⁸³ views on the relationship of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles have changed radically. Mainstream scholarship since de Wette has believed that much of the literature of the Old Testament had already been written by the time of the composition of Chronicles.⁸⁴ This modern scholarship ascribes the deviation of Chronicles from Samuel-Kings to the Chronicler's theological interests and differences.⁸⁵ Yet, this conventional modern scholarship has been challenged by evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls discovered

⁸⁰ L. Kucova, *Common Source Theory and Composition of the Story of the Divided Monarchy in Kings with Special Emphasis on the Account of Josiah's Reform*, (Thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D to the University of Edinburgh, 2005), 1

⁸¹ Ezra is the author of Chronicles in the understanding of pre-critical era.

⁸² See J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (3 vols.; Leipzig: Weidmanns, Erben und Reich, 1787²), 606-56.

⁸³ *Kritischer Verzug über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Bücher der Chronik mit Hinsicht auf die Geschichte der Mosaischen Bücher und Gesetzgebung. Ein Nachtrag zu den Vaterschen Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch* in the first volume of *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (2 vols.; Halle: Schimmelpfenning, 1806)

⁸⁴ G.N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10-29*, 66.

⁸⁵ K. Peltonen, *History Debated: The Historical Reliability of Chronicles in Pre-Critical and Critical Research* (2 vols.; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society, 64; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

in the Judean Desert between 1947 and 1956.⁸⁶ Werner Lemke in his book *Synoptic Studies in the Chronicler's History* (1963) with the help of 4QSam^a⁸⁷ and the Greek witnesses⁸⁸ has shown that not every deviation in Chronicles from Samuel and Kings derives from the Chronicler's *Tendenz*, but some differences had already been part of Chronicler's *Vorlage*.⁸⁹ According to him, it can no longer be held that the differences of the respective Masoretic texts of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are in every case due to the tendentious interests of the Chronicler.⁹⁰

Macy also made a significant contribution to the studies of the relationship between the biblical books of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.⁹¹ On the basis of a close examination of the standard formulaic notices, which Kings and Chronicles regularly employ at the beginning and the end of the narratives of each king's reign, Macy concluded that both the Chronicler and the Deuteronomist (or the author/editor of Kings) depended on an earlier common source or sources which they utilized, each according to the aims and purposes of his own work.⁹² Macy called this primary source 'Deuteronomistic' or stemming from the 'Deuteronomistic school', which is dependent upon the occurrence of the evaluative phrase 'to do right/evil in

⁸⁶ See F.M. Cross, 'The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert', *HTR* 57 (1964), 294; J.R. Porter, 'Old Testament Historiography' in G. W. Anderson (ed.), *Tradition and Interpretation: Essays by Members of the Society for Old Testament Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 155-56; G.F. Hasel, 'Books of Chronicles' in G.W. Bromiley (ed.), *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia. Vol. 1: A-D* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 667; H.G.M. Williamson, 'Introduction in Noth 1987', (1987), 17.

⁸⁷ W.E. Lemke, *Synoptic Studies in the Chronicler's History*, (Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Harvard University, 1963).

⁸⁸ W. Lemke, *Synoptic Studies in the Chronicler's History*, 240; *idem*, 'The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History', *HTR* 58 (1965), 362-63.

⁸⁹ See P.R. Ackroyd, 'History and Theology in the Writings of the Chronicler', *CTM* 38 (1967), 501-515, esp. 507-508) for the significance of this conclusion when approaching the question of Chr's theology.

⁹⁰ This conclusion is nowadays generally accepted in studies and commentaries on Chronicles. See, for example, the recent commentary on 1 Chronicles by Knoppers (2004).

⁹¹ H.R. Macy, *The Sources of the Books of Chronicles: A Reassessment* (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Harvard University, 1975).

⁹² See also R.C. Rezetko, 'Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles', in I. Young (ed.), *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (JSOTSup, 369; London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2003), 215 n. 2) who mentions others before Auld consenting to the idea of a common source employed by the author(s) of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

the eyes of Yahweh' in the formulaic notices.

McKenzie also contributed to the study of the relationship between Chronicles and Samuel-Kings.⁹³ Pursuing F. M. Cross's (1973) double redaction of the Deuteronomistic History, McKenzie suggested that only the first edition (Dtr 1 in the terminology of Cross) of the Deuteronomistic History was available to the Chronicler. In other words, he contended that the principal source used by the Chronicler was an earlier edition of Samuel-Kings, which ended with the death of Josiah.⁹⁴

In a more radical way than the three Harvard theses (Lemke 1963, Macy 1975, McKenzie 1985), Auld challenged mainstream scholarship relating to the composition of the books of the Hebrew Bible from Deuteronomy to Kings and Chronicles.⁹⁵ According to him, Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are based on

⁹³ S.L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM, 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985).

⁹⁴ McKenzie has somewhat changed his views since his 1985 monograph, in which he utilized Cross's single Dtr 1 for the Josianic and Dtr 2 for a later exilic editor of the Deuteronomistic History. In his book, *The Trouble with Kings: The Composition of the Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History* (VTSup, 42; Leiden: Brill), though still espousing the view of a primary Deuteronomistic work composed in Josianic times, he considered this history to be written by a single author/editor that was only lightly updated by several post-Deuteronomistic additions. Still later, he completely abandoned a pre-exilic date for the History. He now considers the Deuteronomistic History to be an exilic work written by a single historian, thus favouring the position of Noth; see S.L. McKenzie, 'Cette royauté qui fait problème', in A. de Pury, T. Römer and J.-D. Macchi (eds.), *Israël construit son histoire: L'historiographie deutéronomiste à la lumière des recherches récentes* (Le Monde de la Bible, 34; Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1996), 267-295 (translated as 'The Trouble with Kingship' in de Pury, Römer and Macchi [eds.] 2000: 286-314); idem., 'Mizpah of Benjamin and the Date of the Deuteronomistic History' in K. Schunck and M. Augustin (eds.), *"Lasset uns Brücken bauen..."*. *Collected Communications to the XVth Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament, Cambridge 1995* (BEATAJ, 42; Frankfurt am Main et al: Peter Lang, 1998), 149-155; idem., 'Postscript: The Laws of Physics and Pan-Deuteronomism' in L. S. Schearing and S. L. McKenzie (eds.), *Those Elusive Deuteronomists: The Phenomenon of Pan-Deuteronomism* (JSOTSup, 268; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 262-271; idem., 'The Divided Kingdom in the Deuteronomistic History and in Scholarship on It' in T. Römer (ed.), *The Future of the Deuteronomistic History* (BETL, 147; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 135-145. McKenzie regards the Deuteronomistic History being enlarged by post-Deuteronomistic additions – although these were made according to him in no systematic way – thus he may be close to Van Seters' view of the Deuteronomist as a creative historian (for this, see Van Seters, *In Search of History*; cf. S.L. McKenzie, 'The Book of Kings in the Deuteronomistic History' in S.L. McKenzie and M.P. Graham (eds.), *The History of Israel's Traditions: The Heritage of Martin Noth* (JSOTSup, 182; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994: 300-302), whose work was supplemented with several additions by later writers.

⁹⁵ A.G. Auld, *Kings without Privilege*.

common source material from which they each developed in their distinctive ways. As a result of a number of responses and criticisms,⁹⁶ Auld made some modifications to his original proposal,⁹⁷ and further developed the main tenets of *Kings without Privilege*.⁹⁸ The shared material by Samuel-Kings and Chronicles he now calls the 'Book of Two Houses', which is 'the story of the royal and the divine house in Jerusalem from the death of Saul until the uprooting and removal of both "houses" by the Babylonians'.⁹⁹ For Auld, BTH is 'the root work of the whole tree of Genesis – Kings'.¹⁰⁰

However, it is not our objective to deal with all the recent issues concerning Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Instead the focus will be on those that are essential for the reading of the literary history of Josh 3-4: We will consider the findings of the preliminary study (4.3.) and investigate the general points and the question of priority between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

4.4.1.1. The Ark's Arrival to the Temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5)

Regarding these synoptic texts, modern scholars have generally argued that

⁹⁶ For the challenges, which Auld has encountered, see H.G.M. Williamson, 'A Response to A. Graeme Auld', *JSOT* 27 (1983), 33-9; idem., Review of *Kings Without Privilege*, by A.G. Auld, *VT* 46 (1996), 553-55; G.N. Knoppers, Review of *Kings Without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings*, by A.G. Auld, *ATJ* 27 (1995), 118-21; R.J. Coggins, Review of *Kings Without Privilege*, by A.G. Auld, *Theology* 98 (1995), 383; W. Johnstone, Review of *Kings Without Privilege*, by A.G. Auld, *SJT* 50 (1997), 256-58; S.L. McKenzie, 'The Chronicler as Redactor', in M.P. Graham and S.L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (JSOTSup, 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 70-90; Z. Talshir, 'Textual and Literary Criticism of the Bible in Post-Modern Times: The Untimely Demise of Classical Biblical Philology', *Henoah* 21 (1999), 249-51; idem., 'The Reign of Solomon in the Making: Pseudo-connections between 3 Kingdoms and Chronicles', *VT* 50 (2000), 248 n. 31; G.N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles* 1-9, 67.

⁹⁷ See e.g. his response to McKenzie in Auld, 'What Was the Main Source of the Books of Chronicles?', in M.P. Graham and S.L. McKenzie (eds.), *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (JSOTSup, 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press), 91-99.

⁹⁸ See the essays collected in Auld, *Samuel at the Threshold*.

⁹⁹ A.G. Auld, 'The Former Prophets', 67.

¹⁰⁰ A.G. Auld, 'The Former Prophets', 53-68; idem. 'The Deuteronomist between History and Theology' (Congress Volume: Oslo, 1998/s), 353-367.

Chronicles was written with the help of the materials found in 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11.¹⁰¹ Japhet insists that ‘the Chronicler adopts the material from I Kings with only a few omissions, and these are compensated for by the few additions so that the overall scope remains the same.’¹⁰² McKenzie also holds that the Chronicler omits (1 Kgs 8:2//2 Chron 5:3), substitutes (1 Kgs 8:3//2 Chron 5:4), and adds (2 Chron 5:11-13) some expressions to compose 2 Chron 5:1-6:2 for his own purpose.¹⁰³ If we tabulate these two texts, compare the differences between them, and reflect on the consequences of the preliminary analysis above, the situation could be changed a little.

* Plus

V	1 Kgs 7:51-8:11	2 Chron 5:1-14	
7:51	<p>וחשלם כל-המלאכה אשר עשה המלך* שלמה בית יהוה ויבא שלמה את-קדשי דוד אביו את-הכסף ואת-הזהב ואת-הכלים נתן באצרות בית יהוה</p>	<p>וחשלם כל-המלאכה אשר עשה שלמה לבית יהוה ויבא שלמה את-קדשי דוד אביו ואת-הכסף ואת-הזהב ואת-כל-הכלים נתן באצרות בית האלהים</p>	5:1
8:1	<p>אז יקהל שלמה את-זקני ישראל את-כל-ראשי המטות נשיאי האבות לבני ישראל אל-המלך שלמה ירושלם להעלות את-ארון ברית-יהוה מעיר דוד היא ציון</p>	<p>אז יקהל שלמה את-זקני ישראל ואת-כל-ראשי המטות נשיאי האבות לבני ישראל אל-ירושלם להעלות את-ארון ברית-יהוה מעיר דוד היא ציון</p>	2
2	<p>ויקהלו אל-המלך שלמה כל-איש ישראל בירח האתנים* בחג הוא החדש השביעי</p>	<p>ויקהלו אל-המלך כל-איש ישראל בחג הוא החדש השביעי</p>	3

¹⁰¹ For this see, B. O. Long, *1 Kings with an Introduction to Historical Literature, FOTL IX* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984); S. J. DeVries, *1 Kings, WBC* (Waco: Texas, 1985); idem, *1 and 2 Chronicles, FOTL XI* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989); S. Japhet, *1 & II Chronicles*; C.T. Begg, ‘The Ark in Chronicles’ in M.P. Graham, S.L. McKenzie, and G.N. Knoppers (eds.), *The Chronicler as Theologian: Essays in Honor of Ralph W. Klein* (T&T Clark International: London, 2003); S.L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*.

¹⁰² S. Japhet, *1 & II Chronicles*, 573.

¹⁰³ S.L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 244-45.

3	ויבאו כל זקני ישראל וישאו <u>הלויים</u> את־הארון	4	ויבאו כל זקני ישראל וישאו <u>הלויים</u> את־הארון
4	ויעלו את־ארון יהוה* ואת־אהל מועד ואת־כל־כלי הקדש אשר באהל ויעלו אתם הכהנים והלויים	5	ויעלו את־הארון ואת־אהל מועד ואת־כל־כלי הקדש אשר באהל <u>העלו</u> אתם הכהנים הלויים
5	והמלך שלמה וכל־עדת ישראל הנועדים עליו אתו* לפני הארון מזבחים צאן ובקר אשר לא־יספרו ולא ימנו מרב	6	והמלך שלמה וכל־עדת ישראל הנועדים עליו לפני הארון מזבחים צאן ובקר אשר לא־יספרו ולא ימנו מרב
6	ויבאו הכהנים את־ארון ברית יהוה אל־מקומו אל־דביר הבית אל־קדש הקדשים אל־תחת כנפי הכרובים	7	ויבאו הכהנים את־ארון ברית יהוה אל־מקומו אל־דביר הבית אל־קדש הקדשים אל־תחת כנפי הכרובים
7	כי הכרובים פרשים כנפים אל־מקום הארון ויסכו הכרובים על־הארון ועל־בריו מלמעלה	8	ויהיו הכרובים פרשים כנפים על־מקום הארון ויכסו הכרובים על־הארון ועל־בריו מלמעלה
8	ויארכו הבדים ויראו ראשי הבדים מן־הקדש על־פני הדביר ולא יראו החוצה ויהי שם עד היום הזה	9	ויארכו הבדים ויראו ראשי הבדים מן־הארון על־פני הדביר ולא יראו החוצה ויהי שם עד היום הזה
9	אין בארון רק שני לחות האבנים* אשר הנח שם* משה בחרב אשר כרת יהוה עם־בני ישראל בצאתם מארץ* מצרים	10	אין בארון רק שני הלחות אשר־נתן משה בחרב אשר כרת יהוה עם־בני ישראל בצאתם מ מצרים
10a	ויהי בצאת הכהנים מן־הקדש	11	ויהי בצאת הכהנים מן־הקדש כי כל־הכהנים הנמצאים התקדשו אין לשמור למחלקות*
		12*	והלויים המשררים לכלם לאסף להימן לירדתן ולבניהם ולאחיהם מלבשים בויץ במצלחים ובנבלים וכנרות עמדים מזרח למזבבח ועמהם כהנים

		למאה ועשרים מחצצרים בחצצרות	
		ויהי כאחד למחצצרים ולמשררים להשמיע קול אחד להלל ולהדות ליהוה וכהרים קול בחצצרות ובמזלטים ובכלי השיר ובהלל ליהוה כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו	13a *
10b	והענן מלא את־בית יהוה	והבית מלא ענן בית יהוה	13b
11	ולא־יכלו הכהנים לעמוד לשרת מפני הענן כי־מלא כבוד־יהוה את־בית יהוה	ולא־יכלו הכהנים לעמוד לשרת מפני הענן כי־מלא כבוד־יהוה את־בית האלהים	14

[Table 10]

In 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11 there are 9 small pluses, while there are 4 small pluses in 2 Chron 5 along with one big plus in 2 Chron 5:11b-13. Japhet holds that the non-synoptic text in 2 Chron 5:11b-13 is the Chronicler's own insertion, 'elaborating on the ceremonial aspects of the installation of the ark'.¹⁰⁴

One interesting point we have to pay attention to is that the description of the Levites, priests and musical instruments in 2 Chron 5:11b-13 also appears in 1 Chron 13:8; 15:16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 28; 16:5, 6, 42 (and Num 10:2, 8, 9, 10). McKenzie claims that these peculiar texts in Chronicles originated from some 'non-canonical source', which the Chronicler used as opposed to the canonical Samuel-Kings.¹⁰⁵ As we have seen in 4.3.6.3, those expressions also appear in 2 Sam 6:5, 15, and the synoptic report (2 Sam 6:5//1 Chron 13:8 and 2 Sam 6:15//1 Chron 15:28aαβ) is the source of this list. One could argue that the problem is that he considers only the influence which Samuel-Kings exerts on Chronicles. Nevertheless, he appears to consider the existence of some later special material such as 2 Chron 5:11b-13.

¹⁰⁴ S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 574.

¹⁰⁵ S. L. McKenzie, *I-2 Chronicles*, 40-43.

Therefore, if we take into account the above findings in [Table 10], it does not seem possible to simply say that 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11 is prior to 2 Chron 5. Rather, if we consider the challenges raised by B, 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:5 in 4.3.6.3, 1 Chron 13:8 seems to be earlier than MT-2 Sam 6:5.

4.4.1.2. The Ark is carried to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16)

Mainstream scholarship has generally argued that 1 Chron 13-16 took its main material from 2 Sam 6.¹⁰⁶ Japhet holds that the Chronicler mixed various sources and produced a new literary structure. According to her,¹⁰⁷

[s]ome of these elements have been taken from biblical sources, mainly II Samuel; some have probably been drawn from non-biblical sources, while some he penned himself.

McKenzie argues that the Chronicler divided 2 Sam 6 into three parts (6:1-11, 12b-19a, 19b-20), and used them as the framework of 1 Chron 13-16.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the passages in Chronicles that are non-synoptic could be divided into three categories: the Chronicler's own compositions (13:1-4; 14:17); sources that are from no longer extant materials (15:1-24; 16:4-7, 37-42); portions of three Psalms pieced together, Pss 105:1-15; 96:1-13; 106:1, 47-48 (16:8-22; 23-33; 34-36).¹⁰⁹

Yet, if we compare and analyse the materials in 2 Sam 6 and 1 Chron 13-16, the situation may prove to be different from this.

¹⁰⁶ For this see, B. O. Long, *1 Kings with an Introduction to Historical Literature*; S. J. DeVries, *1 Kings*; idem, *1 and 2 Chronicles*; S. Japhet, *1 & II Chronicles*; C.T. Begg, 'The Ark in Chronicles'; S.L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*.

¹⁰⁷ S. Japhet, *1 & II Chronicles*, 272.

¹⁰⁸ S.L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 133.

¹⁰⁹ S.L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 133-134.

	2 Sam 6	1 Chron 13-16	
		<p>1 ויועץ דויד עמ־שרי האלפים והמאות לכל־נֶגֶד</p> <p>2 ויאמר דויד לכל קהל ישראל אִם־עֲלֵיכֶם טוֹב וּמִן־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ נִפְרָצָה נִשְׁלַחַה</p> <p>עַל־אֲחֵינוּ הַנִּשְׁאָרִים בְּכָל אֲרָצוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעִמָּהֶם הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם</p> <p>בְּעָרֵי מִגְרָשֵׁיהֶם וּיקְבְּצוּ אֵלֵינוּ</p> <p>3 וְנִסְבָּה אֶת־אֲרוֹן אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ כִּי־לֹא דִרְשָׁנָהּ בִּימֵי שְׁאוּל</p> <p>4 וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל־הַקָּהָל לַעֲשׂוֹת כֵּן כִּי־יֵשֶׁר הָרַבֵּר בְּעֵינֵי כָל־הָעָם</p>	<p>*13: 1 ~ 4</p>
6 ¹	<p>ויסֶף עוֹד דוֹד אֶת־כָּל־בְּחֹר בִּישְׂרָאֵל שְׁלֹשִׁים אֶלֶף</p>	<p>ויקהל דויד אֶת־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־שִׁיחֹר מִצְרִים וְעַד־לְבֹאֹ חֲמַת</p>	<p>13 5a</p>
6 ²	<p>ויקם וילך דוֹד וְכָל הָעָם אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ מִבְּעֲלֵי יְהוּדָה לַהֲעֹלֹת מִשֶּׁם אֶת אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שֵׁם שֵׁם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת יוֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֹבִים עָלָיו</p>	<p>ויעל דויד וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּעֲלֹתָה אֶל־קִרְיַת יַעֲרִים אֲשֶׁר לַיהוּדָה לַהֲעֹלֹת מִשֶּׁם אֶת אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים יְהוָה יוֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֹבִים אֲשֶׁר־נִקְרָא שֵׁם</p>	<p>13 5b</p> <p>*13⁶</p>
6 ³	<p>וירכבו אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים אֶל־עֲגָלָה חֲדָשָׁה *וַיִּשְׁאַהֻּ מִבֵּית אֲבִינֹדָב *אֲשֶׁר בְּגִבְעָה וְעֹזָא וְאֲחִיו *בְּנֵי אֲבִינֹדָב נְהֻגִים אֶת־הָעֲגָלָה *חֲדָשָׁה</p>	<p>וירכבו אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים עַל־עֲגָלָה חֲדָשָׁה מִבֵּית אֲבִינֹדָב וְעֹזָא וְאֲחִיו נְהֻגִים בַּעֲגָלָה</p>	<p>13⁷</p>
*6 ⁴	<p>וישֹׂאֻהוּ מִבֵּית אֲבִינֹדָב אֲשֶׁר בְּגִבְעָה עִם אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים וְאֲחִיו הַלֵּךְ לִפְנֵי הָאֲרוֹן</p>		
6 ⁵	<p>וְדוֹד וְכָל־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל מִשְׁחָקִים לִפְנֵי יְהוָה בְּכָל עֲצֵי בְרוּשִׁים וּבַכְּנֹרוֹת וּבַנְּבָלִים וּבַחֲפִים וּבַמִּצְלָחִים וּבַחֲצֻצּוֹת</p>	<p>וְדוֹד וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל מִשְׁחָקִים לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים בְּכָל עֲצֵי בְרוּשִׁים וּבַכְּנֹרוֹת וּבַנְּבָלִים וּבַחֲפִים וּבַמִּצְלָחִים וּבַחֲצֻצּוֹת</p>	<p>13⁸</p>
6 ⁶	<p>וַיָּבֹאוּ עַד־נָרְן נָכוֹן וַיִּשְׁלַח עֹזָא אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים וַיֵּאָחֲזוּ בּוֹ * כִּי שָׁמְטוּ הַבָּקָר</p>	<p>וַיָּבֹאוּ עַד־נָרְן כִּדְרֹן וַיִּשְׁלַח עֹזָא אֶת־יָדוֹ לֵאחֹז * אֶת־הָאֲרוֹן כִּי שָׁמְטוּ הַבָּקָר</p>	<p>13⁹</p>
6 ⁷	<p>וַיַּחֲרִאֲף יְהוָה בַּעֲזָא וַיִּכְהוּ עַל אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַח יָדוֹ עַל־הָאֲרוֹן וַיָּמָת שֵׁם לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים</p>	<p>וַיַּחֲרִאֲף יְהוָה בַּעֲזָא וַיִּכְהוּ עַל אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַח יָדוֹ עַל־הָאֲרוֹן וַיָּמָת שֵׁם לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים</p>	<p>13¹⁰</p>
6 ⁸	<p>וַיַּחֲרֵלְדוּ עַל אֲשֶׁר פָּרִץ יְהוָה פָּרִץ בַּעֲזָא וַיִּקְרָא לַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא</p>	<p>וַיַּחֲרֵלְדוּ כִּי פָרִץ יְהוָה פָּרִץ בַּעֲזָא וַיִּקְרָא לַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא</p>	<p>13¹¹</p>

	פרץ עזה עד היום הזה	פרץ עזה עד היום הזה	
13 ¹²	וַיֹּאמֶר הָיָה אֲבִיָּא אֵלַי * אֵת אַרְוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים	וַיֹּאמֶר דּוֹד אֲתִיְהוּה בְּיוֹם הַהוּא וַיֹּאמֶר אֵיךְ יָבֹא אֵלַי _____ אַרְוֹן יְהוּה	6 ⁹
13 ¹³	וּלְאִי־הִסִּיר דּוֹד אֲתִיְהַאֲרוֹן אֵלַי אֶל־עִיר דּוֹד וַיִּטְהַר אֶל־בֵּית עַבְד־אֲדוֹם הַנְּתִי	וּלְאִי־הִסִּיר דּוֹד * לְהַסִּיר אֵלַי אֲתִיְהַאֲרוֹן יְהוּה עַל־עִיר דּוֹד וַיִּטְהַר דּוֹד בֵּית עַבְד־אֲדוֹם הַנְּתִי	6 ¹⁰
13 ¹⁴	וַיֵּשֶׁב אַרְוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים עִם * בֵּית עַבְד אֲדָם בְּבִיתוֹ שְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים וַיְבָרֶךְ יְהוּה אֶת־בֵּית * עַבְד־אֲדָם וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ	וַיֵּשֶׁב אַרְוֹן יְהוּה _____ בֵּית עַבְד אֲדָם הַנְּתִי שְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים וַיְבָרֶךְ יְהוּה אֶת־ _____ עַבְד אֲדָם וְאֶת־כָּל־בֵּיתוֹ	6 ¹¹
14 ¹	וַיִּשְׁלַח חִירָם מֶלֶךְ־צֹר מִלְּאֲכִים אֶל־דּוֹד וְעַצִּי אַרְזִים וְחֲרָשֵׁי קִיר וְחֲרָשֵׁי עֲצִים לַבְנוֹת לוֹ בֵּית	וַיִּשְׁלַח חִירָם מֶלֶךְ־צֹר מִלְּאֲכִים אֶל־דּוֹד וְעַצִּי אַרְזִים וְחֲרָשֵׁי עֵץ וְחֲרָשֵׁי אָבֶן קִיר וַיְבַנּוּ־בֵית לַדּוֹד	5 ¹¹
14 ²	וַיֵּדַע דּוֹד כִּי־הִכִּינוּ יְהוּה לְמֶלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־נִשְׁאַת לְמַעֲלָה * מַלְכוּתוֹ בַּעֲבוּר עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל	וַיֵּדַע דּוֹד כִּי־הִכִּינוּ יְהוּה לְמֶלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל ו * כִּי נִשְׁאַת _____ מַמְלַכְתּוֹ בַּעֲבוּר עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל	5 ¹²
14 ³	וַיִּקַּח דּוֹד עוֹד _____ נָשִׁים בִּירוּשָׁלַם וַיּוֹלֵד דּוֹד עוֹד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת	וַיִּקַּח דּוֹד עוֹד פִּלְגָשִׁים ו * נָשִׁים מִירוּשָׁלַם אֲחֵרֵי בָאוּ מִחִבְרוֹן * וַיּוֹלְדוּ עוֹד לַדּוֹד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת	5 ¹³
14 ⁴	וְאֵלָה שְׁמוֹת הַיְלָוִדִים אֲשֶׁר הֵיוּ־לוֹ בִּירוּשָׁלַם שְׁמוֹעַ וְשׁוּבָב נְתָן וְשִׁלְמָה	וְאֵלָה שְׁמוֹת הַיְלָדִים _____ לוֹ בִּירוּשָׁלַם שְׁמוֹעַ וְשׁוּבָב ו * נְתָן וְשִׁלְמָה	5 ¹⁴
14 ⁵	וַיַּבְחַר וְאִלְיָשׁוּעַ * וְאַלְפֶּלֶט	וַיַּבְחַר וְאִלְיָשׁוּעַ וּנְפַע וַיִּפְּעַ	5 ¹⁵
14 ⁶	* וְנִגְנָה וְנִפְגַּ וַיִּפְּעַ		
14 ⁷	וְאִלְיָשָׁמַע וּבַעֲלִידַע וְאַלְיִפְלֵט	וְאִלְיָשָׁמַע וְאִלְיָדַע וְאַלְיִפְלֵט	5 ¹⁶
14 ⁸	וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ פִּלְשְׁתִּים כִּי־נִמְשַׁח דּוֹד לְמֶלֶךְ עַל־ * כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיַּעֲלוּ כָל־פִּלְשְׁתִּים לִבְקֶשׁ אֶת־דּוֹד וַיִּשְׁמַע דּוֹד וַיֵּצֵא לַפְּנִיָּהם	וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ פִּלְשְׁתִּים כִּי־נִמְשַׁחוּ * אֶת־דּוֹד לְמֶלֶךְ עַל־ יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיַּעֲלוּ כָל־פִּלְשְׁתִּים לִבְקֶשׁ אֶת־דּוֹד וַיִּשְׁמַע דּוֹד וַיֵּרֵד אֶל־הַמְּצוּדָה	5 ¹⁷
14 ⁹	וּפִלְשְׁתִּים בָּאוּ וַיִּפְשְׁטוּ בַּעֲמֵק רִפְאִים	וּפִלְשְׁתִּים בָּאוּ וַיִּנְטְשׁוּ בַּעֲמֵק רִפְאִים	5 ¹⁸
14 ¹⁰	וַיִּשְׁאַל דּוֹד בָּאֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר הֲאֵעֲלָה עַל־פִּלְשְׁתִּים וְנִתְחַם בִּידִי וַיֹּאמֶר * לוֹ יְהוּה _____ עַלָּה וְנִתְחַם	וַיִּשְׁאַל דּוֹד בִּיהוּה לֵאמֹר הֲאֵעֲלָה אֶל־פִּלְשְׁתִּים הַתְּחַנֵּם בִּידִי וַיֹּאמֶר _____ יְהוּה * אֶל־דּוֹד עַלָּה כִּי־נָתַן * אֶת־הַפִּלְשְׁתִּים בִּידֶךָ	5 ¹⁹
14 ¹¹	וַיַּעֲלוּ _____ בְּבַעַל־פְּרָצִים וַיִּכֶם שֵׁם דּוֹד וַיֹּאמֶר דּוֹד פֶּרֶץ הָאֱלֹהִים אֲתִיְהוּבִי בִידִי כַּפְרֵץ מִים עַל־כֵּן קָרָא שֵׁם־הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא בַּעַל פְּרָצִים	וַיִּבֹּא * דּוֹד בְּבַעַל־פְּרָצִים וַיִּכֶם שֵׁם דּוֹד וַיֹּאמֶר _____ פֶּרֶץ יְהוּה אֲתִיְהוּבִי לִפְנֵי כַּפְרֵץ מִים עַל־כֵּן קָרָא שֵׁם־הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא בַּעַל פְּרָצִים	5 ²⁰
14 ¹²	וַיַּעֲזוּב־שֵׁם אֶת־אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וַיֹּאמֶר דּוֹד וַיִּשְׁרְפוּ בָּאֵשׁ	וַיַּעֲזוּב־שֵׁם אֶת־עַצְבֵּיהֶם וַיִּשְׂאֵם דּוֹד וַאֲנָשָׁיו	5 ²¹
14 ¹³	וַיִּסְפוּ עוֹד פִּלְשְׁתִּים _____ וַיִּפְשְׁטוּ בַּעֲמֵק _____	וַיִּסְפוּ עוֹד פִּלְשְׁתִּים * לְעֵלוֹת וַיִּנְטְשׁוּ בַּעֲמֵק * רִפְאִים	5 ²²
14 ¹⁴	וַיִּשְׁאַל * עוֹד דּוֹד בָּאֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאמֶר * לוֹ הָאֱלֹהִים	וַיִּשְׁאַל _____ דּוֹד בִּיהוּה וַיֹּאמֶר _____ לֹא תַעֲלֶה הַסֵּב אֶל־אֲחֵרֵיהֶם	5 ²³

	לא תעלה אחריהם הסב מעליהם ובאת להם ממול הבכאים	ובאת להם ממול בכאים	
14 ¹⁵	ויהי כשמעך את־קול הצעדה בראשי הבכאים אז תצא *במלחמה כי יֵצֵא האלהים לפניך להכות את־מחנה פלשתים	ויהי בשמעך את־קול צעדה בראשי הבכאים אז תחרין כי *אז יצא יהוה לפניך להכות במחנה פלשתים	5 ²⁴
14 ¹⁶	ויעש דויד כאשר צוהו האלהים ויכו את־*מחנה פלשתים מנבעון ו*עד נזרה	ויעש דוד *כן כאשר צוהו יהוה ויך את־ פלשתים מנבע עד־באך *נזר	5 ²⁵
*14 ¹⁷	ויצא שם־דויד בכל־הארצות ויהוה נתן את־פחדו על־כל־הגוים		
*15 ¹⁻²⁴	<p>¹ ויעש־לו בתים בעיר דויד ויכן מקום לארון האלהים ויש־לו אהל</p> <p>² אז אמר דויד לא לשאת את־ארון האלהים כי אס־הלויים כִּי־בם בחר יהוה לשאת את־ארון יהוה ולשרתו עד־עולם</p> <p>³ ויקהל דויד את־כל־ישראל אלי־רושלם להעלות את־ארון יהוה אל־מקומו אשר־הכין לו</p> <p>⁴ ויאסף דויד את־בני אהרן ואת־הלויים</p> <p>⁵ לבני קהת ואוריאל השר ואחיו מאה ועשרים</p> <p>⁶ לבני מררי עשיה השר ואחיו מאתים ועשרים</p> <p>⁷ לבני גרשום יואל השר ואחיו מאה ושלשים</p> <p>⁸ לבני אליצפן שמעיה השר ואחיו מאתים</p> <p>⁹ לבני חברון אליאל השר ואחיו שמונים</p> <p>¹⁰ לבני עזיאל עמינדב השר</p> <p>ואחיו מאה ושנים עשר</p> <p>¹¹ ויקרא דויד לצדוק ולאביתר הכהנים וללויים לאוריאל עשיה ויואל שמעיה ואליאל ועמינדב</p> <p>¹² ויאמר להם אתם ראשי האבות ללויים התקדשו אתם ואחיהם והעליחם את ארון יהוה אל־הכינוחי לו</p> <p>¹³ כי למבראשונה לא אתם פרין יהוה אלהינו בנו כי־לא דרשנהו כמשפט</p> <p>¹⁴ ויתקדשו הכהנים והלויים להעלות את־ארון יהוה אל־הישראל</p> <p>¹⁵ וישאו בני־הלויים את ארון האלהים כאשר צוה משה כדבר יהוה בכתפם במטות עליהם</p> <p>¹⁶ ויאמר דויד לשרי הלויים להעמיד את־אחייהם המשררים בכל־ישייר נבלים וכנרות ומצלחים משמיעים להרים־בקול לשמחה</p> <p>¹⁷ ויעמיד הלויים את הימן בן־יואל ומן־אחיו אסף בן־ברכיהו ומן־בני מררי אחיהם איתן בן־קושיהו</p> <p>¹⁸ ועמהם אחיהם המשנים זכריהו בן ויעזיאל ושמירמות ויחזאל ועני אליאב ובניהו ומעשיהו ומתחיהו ואליפלהו ומקניהו ועבר אדם ויעיאל השערים</p> <p>¹⁹ והמשררים הימן אסף ואיתן במצלחים נחשת להשמיע</p>		

		<p>²⁰ וזכריה ועזיאל ושמירמות ויחיאל ועני ואליאב ומעשיהו ובניהו בנבלים על-עלמות ²¹ ומתתיהו ואליפלהו ומקניהו ועבד אדם ויעיאל ועזיהו בכנרות על-השמינית לנצח ²² וכנניהו שר-הלויים במשא יסר במשא כי מבין הוא ²³ וברכיה ואלקנה שערים לארון ²⁴ ושבניהו וישפט ונתנאל וועמשי וזכריהו ובניהו ואליעז הכהנים מחצצרים בחצצרות לפני ארון האלהים ועבד אדם ויחיה שערים לארון</p>	
	<p>^{12a} * ויגד למלך דוד לאמר ברך יהוה את-בית עבד אדם ואת-כל-אשר-לו בעבור ארון האלהים</p>		
⁶ ¹²	<p>^{12b} וילך דוד ויעל את-ארון האלהים מבית עבד אדם עיר דוד בשמחה</p>	<p>¹⁵²⁵ ויהי דוד וזקני ישראל ושרי האלפים ההלכים להעלות את-ארון ברית-יהוה מן-בית עבד-אדם בשמחה</p>	
⁶ ¹³	<p>ויהי כי צעדו נשאי ארון-יהוה ששה צעדים ויזבח שור ומריא</p>	<p>¹⁵²⁶ ויהי בעזר האלהים את-הלויים נשאי ארון ברית-יהוה ויזבחו שבעה-פרים ושבעה אילים</p>	
⁶ ¹⁴	<p>ודוד מכרכר בכל-עז לפני יהוה ודוד חנור אפוד בד</p>	<p>¹⁵²⁷ ודוד מכרכר במעיל בויג וכל-הלויים הנשאים את-הארון והמשררים וכנניה השר המשא המשררים ועל-דוד אפוד בד</p>	
⁶ ¹⁵	<p>*ודוד וכל-בית ישראל מעלים את-ארון יהוה בתרועה ובקול שופר</p>	<p>¹⁵²⁸ וכל- ישראל מעלים את-ארון *ברית-יהוה בתרועה ובקול שופר *ובחצצרות ובמצלתיים משמעים בנבלים וכנרות</p>	
⁶ ¹⁶	<p>והיה ארון יהוה בא עיר דוד ומיכל בת-שאול נשקפה בעד החלון ותרא את-המלך דוד מפוז ומכרכר לפני יהוה ותבז לו בלבה</p>	<p>¹⁵²⁹ ויהי ארון *ברית יהוה בא *עד-עיר דוד ומיכל בת-שאול נשקפה בעד החלון ותרא את-המלך דוד מרקד ומשחק ותבז לו בלבה</p>	
⁶ ¹⁷	<p>ויבאו את-ארון יהוה ויצנו אתו *במקומו בתוך האהל אשר נטה-לו דוד ויעל *דוד עלות לפני יהוה ושלמים</p>	<p>¹⁶¹ ויבאו את-ארון האלהים ויצנו אתו בתוך האהל אשר נטה-לו דוד ויקריבו עלות ושלמים לפני האלהים</p>	
⁶ ¹⁸	<p>ויכל דוד מהעלות העולה והשלמים ויברך את-העם בשם יהוה *צבאות</p>	<p>¹⁶² ויכל דוד מהעלות העלה והשלמים ויברך את-העם בשם יהוה</p>	
⁶ ^{19a}	<p>ויחלק לכל-העם לכל-המון ישראל למאיש ועד-אשה לאיש חלת לחם אחת ואשפר אחד ואשישה אחת וילך</p>	<p>¹⁶³ ויחלק לכל-איש ישראל מאיש ועד-אשה לאיש ככר-לחם ואשפר ואשישה</p>	

*6 20b- 23	<p> וְחָצָא מִיכַל בַּת־שָׂאוּל לִקְרֹאת דָּוִד וּתְאֹמַר מִה־נִּכְבַּד הַיּוֹם מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר נִגְלָה הַיּוֹם לְעֵינֵי אֲמָהוּת עֲבָדָיו כִּהְגִּלּוֹת נִגְלּוֹת אֶחָד הָרָקִים וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־מִיכַל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר בַּחֲרִבִּי מֵאֲבִיךָ וּמִכַּל־בִּיתוֹ לָצוֹת אִתִּי נָגִיד עַל־עַם יְהוָה עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וּשְׁחַקְתִּי לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וַיִּנְקֻלְתִּי עוֹד מִזֹּאת וְהָיִיתִי שָׂפָל בְּעֵינֵי וְעַם־הָאֲמָהוּת אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתָּ עִמָּם אֲכַבְרָה וְלִמִּיכַל בַּת־שָׂאוּל לֵאמֹר לֵה יִלֵּךְ עַד יוֹם מוֹתָהּ </p>		
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[Table 11]

[Table 11] shows that there are a lot of pluses in both 2 Sam 6 and 1 Chron 13-16. Although there are two large segments of special material in 1 Chron 15:1-24 and 16:4-42, there is also one in 2 Sam 6:20b-23. As we have seen in 4.3, the verbs used to move the ark in B and 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6 agree with those in 1 Chron 13-16, but not with those in MT - 2 Sam 6. Thus, we can say that these textual observations support the priority of the alternative text of 2 Sam 6 over 2 Sam 6 (MT). That alternative text is also prior to 1 Chron 13-16.

We also have to consider the long non-synoptic material about the Levites carrying the ark while the people worshipped God with music and singing (1 Chron 15:1-24, 16:4-42). As we have seen in 4.3.6.3, especially in [Table 8], those materials in 1 Chron 15:1-24, 16:4-42 are influenced by the materials on musical instruments and praise in 2 Sam 6:5//1 Chron 13:8 (BTH). In addition, 2 Sam 6:15//1 Chron 15:28αβ share some special word with Joshua 6. Thus, Auld's position on the textual development should be sustained.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ A.G. Auld, 'Solomon at Gibeon', in Auld (ed.) *Samuel at the Threshold: Selected Works of Graeme Auld*, SOTS, (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 105.

4.4.1.3. The Ark is carried to Kiriath-jearim (1 Sam 4:1b-7:2)

The point that we have to discuss before we deal with the ark narrative in 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 is the question of its relationship with 2 Sam 6. Since Rost included 2 Sam 6 with the 'ark narrative' which begins in 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 through a cautious and circumspect analysis of their vocabulary and style,¹¹¹ a number of scholars have followed his argument. In reality, there are many thematic, structural and terminological links between the two ark stories, but there are also considerable differences, such as place and personal names and the absence of the Levites from 2 Samuel 6.¹¹² Thus, many scholars now support the position that the stories form distinct literary layers rather than an independent source.¹¹³

Here, we have to consider some recent challenges that explore the priority of 2 Sam 6 over 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2. Even though almost all mainstream scholars have argued that the former was composed in response to the latter, there have been others, who consider the possibility that the latter presupposes the former.¹¹⁴ As we see in [Table 3 and 4], among those ark narratives in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 shows the most varied and developed epithets of the ark and verbs, which are used to describe the movement of the ark. This narrative is also one of the most theologically important in Samuel-Kings as a whole: The story of the capture and

¹¹¹ L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids*; A.F. Campbell, *The Ark Narrative (1Sam 4-6; 2 Sam 6)*, 6-8; idem., *1Samuel*, 300.

¹¹² R.C. Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark*, 16, 450-53; For more of this, see J. Blenkinsopp, *The Role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Political and Religious History of Early Israel* (Society for Old Testament Study Monograph Series, 2; Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 71-74; M. J. Steussy, *David: Biblical Portraits of Power* (Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament; Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 59; A.F. Campbell, *The Ark Narrative (1Sam 4-6; 2 Sam 6)*, 6-54; idem., *1Samuel*, 300-309.

¹¹³ R.C. Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark*, 16; J. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 346-353; R. Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*, 18-71; J.P. Fokkerman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel: A Full Interpretation Based on Stylistic and Structural Analyses. I. King David (II Sam. 9-20 & I Kings 1-2)* (SSN 20; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1993), 1-316.

¹¹⁴ R.C. Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark*, 16. For further study on this point, see F. Schicklberger, *Die Ladeerzählungen des ersten Samuelbuches: eine literaturwissenschaftliche und theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1973), 144-48; R. Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist* (1989), 68; A.G. Auld, '1 and 2 Samuel', in J.D.G. Dunn and J.W. Rogerson (eds.), *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (Cambridge, England; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm . B. Eerdmans, 2003), 233.

return of the ark symbolises how Yahweh's power is not diminished by Israel's defeat or the plunder of her shrine.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, it implies that just as Yahweh overcame the Philistine oppressors and journeyed to Jerusalem in triumph, so too would the people of the exile be freed from their Babylonian captors and return to Jerusalem.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, we should not miss the point that the principal topic of this narrative is God rather than the ark itself. Scholars understood that the return of the ark hints at the reinstatement of the Davidic kingship.¹¹⁷ However, in 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, the autonomy of the deity is extraordinarily stressed: even though the Israelites bring the ark to the battle field, God allows himself to be captured; He pours out His wrath on both the Philistines and the people of Beth-shemesh and miraculously guides the milch cows and returns on his own.¹¹⁸ As the ark returned alone without any human leadership in 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, so God will lead history autonomously and bring about Israel's return from the exile with His own power.

The narrative in 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 demonstrates the difference between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles most clearly in that Chronicles pays attention to the affirmative aspect of the Davidic royal kingship and takes a close interest in its recovery,¹¹⁹ whereas Samuel-Kings points out the limitations of the Davidic kingship and emphasises the recovery of God's kingship. 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 conclusively reflects the theological feature of Samuel-Kings, material which is a special feature of Samuel-Kings.

¹¹⁵ A.G. Auld, 'Re-reading Samuel (Historically): *'Etwas mehr Nichtwissen'*', in Auld (ed.) *Samuel at the Threshold*, 153.

¹¹⁶ R.C. Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark*, 16-17. For more of this, see H. Timm, 'Die Ladeerzählung (1 Sam 4-6, 2 Sam 6) und das Kerygma des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks' (Evangelische Theologie 26, 1966), 509-526; P.R. Ackroyd, *The First Book of Samuel* (The Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 52, 63; G.W. Ahlström, 'The Travel of the Ark: A Religio-Political Composition', (JNES 43, 1984), 143-144; K.A.D. Smelik, 'The Ark Narrative Reconsidered,' in *New Avenues in the Study of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 140-144; A.G. Auld, 'Re-reading Samuel (Historically): *'Etwas mehr Nichtwissen'*', 153.

¹¹⁷ R. C. Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark*, 17; R. Polzin, *Samuel and the Deuteronomist*, 71; A.G. Auld, 'Re-reading Samuel (Historically): *'Etwas mehr Nichtwissen'*', in Auld (ed.) *Samuel at the Threshold*, 153.

¹¹⁸ R. C. Rezetko, *Source and Revision in the Narratives of David's Transfer of the Ark*, 17.

¹¹⁹ S.L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles*, 17-58.

One more point we have to bear in mind here is that the language used to describe the Levites role in worship in 1 Sam 6:15 is rather unusual in the entire context of Samuel-Kings. As we saw in 4.3.3, the word, 'Levite[s]' appears mainly in Chronicles, but rarely (only 4 times) in Samuel-Kings, particularly in non-synoptic texts. In the ark texts of Samuel-Kings, הלויים occurs only once (1 Sam 6:15) except for its appearance in the MT plus, הכהנים והלויים, in 1 Kgs 8:4.

4.4.2. The Literary History of Josh 3-4

According to our analysis so far, Josh 3-4 seems to rely on the shared texts of the ark's movements in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. Among those eighteen epithets of the ark, nine epithets appear in Josh 3-4, which shows that this text uses the most varied and developed form of the epithets of the ark among all the ark texts.¹²⁰ Of the synoptic epithets, there are instances of הארון ברית יהוה, הארון.

Furthermore, Josh 3-4 shares some materials with late non-synoptic texts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. As we have seen in 4.3.6.11, קציר-חשים in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX-Josh 3:15 also appears in 1 Sam 6:13 and while in MT-Josh 3:15 it is generalised into כל ימי קציר. In these texts on the movement of the ark, two different words for 'armed' (חלוצין and חמשים) appear. 1 Sam 6:19 uses only חמשים, Josh 6:7, 9, 13, חלוצין, but Josh 4:12-13 uses both of them. There are several other instances as we have seen in 4.3.

Thus, we will read the literary history of Josh 3-4 in Chapter Six more closely, while considering the results of this chapter together with those of Chapter Three (text critical analysis), and after we consider the relevance of reading this narrative in the context of water crossing story in Chapter Five once again.

¹²⁰ For this, see [Table 3].

4.4.3. The Literary History of Josh 6: The Ark in the Conquest Story of Jericho (Josh 6:1-27)

Although there have been some archaeological approaches to investigate the descriptions of Josh 6,¹²¹ scholars have concentrated mainly on diachronic research based on the textual study of this narrative.¹²² However, in most cases, their research is limited in that they did not pay attention to the challenges of LXX, only to the presumed literary history of MT.¹²³

MT - Josh 6 is approximately 30% longer than LXX-Josh 6.¹²⁴ There are a number of pluses in MT, in particular the long plus of MT-Josh 6:3b-4 which appears to show that the large number of pluses in MT constitute the final layer of this text, having been inserted to solve the inexplicabilities in the shorter Greek text. It is difficult for us to distinguish 'whether "encircling" the city meant "going round" or "being around" it'.¹²⁵ The Greek could be understood as reporting that the Israelites formed a stationary circle around Jericho. Thus, according to Nelson, the MT plus in v 3b is added to clarify 'that the encirclement of Jericho is not to be understood as a static siege, but as a parade around the city'.¹²⁶ In addition, Nelson holds that v 4 in MT is based on vv 8 and 13. It is possible that the MT editor added v 4 to highlight

¹²¹ For this, see K.M. Kenyon, *Digging Up Jericho* (London: Ernest Benn, 1957), 256-63.

¹²² For this, see J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, 3^d ed. (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1899), 121-22; J. Dus, 'Die Analyse zweier Ladeerzählungen des Josuabuches (Jos 3-4 und 6)', 108; Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (1953), 21-22, 40-43; J.A. Wilcox, 'Narrative Structure and Cult Legend: A Study of Joshua 1-6', in ed. J.C. Rylaarsdam, *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship* (Chicago: Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1968), 50, 53; E. Otto, *Das Mazzotfest in Gilgal. BWANT 107* (1973), 80; T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, WBC (1983), 63-72; B. Peckham, 'The Composition of Joshua 3-4', 427; J. van Seters, 'Joshua's Campaign of Canaan and Near Eastern Historiography', *SJOT* (1990) 4/2, 5; V. Fritz, *Das Buch Josua*, 65-76; R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 83-95. For more of this, see Chapter One of this thesis.

¹²³ Of those scholars listed in footnote 122, we should note that Butler and Nelson do pay close attention to the challenges of LXX. Nelson especially takes the testimony of B in Joshua more seriously than any other.

¹²⁴ Especially in Josh 6:1-20, the LXX lacks at least 92 words out of a total approximate of 350 words. For this, see L. Mazar, 'A Nomistic Re-Working of the Jericho Conquest Narrative Reflected in LXX to Joshua 6:1-20', in *Textus 18* (1995), 47-62; M.N. Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 72-73.

¹²⁵ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 134.

¹²⁶ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 86.

the fact that the priests will blow the horn only on the seventh day by using vv 8 and 13. In doing so, he/she seems to have attempted to reconcile the inconsistencies between the request for total silence by the people in v 10 and the repeated blowing of the trumpets in vv 8, 9, 13.

Another point to consider here that results from our investigations in 4.3 is reading this text (Josh 6) with the help of the ark texts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. The preliminary analysis carried out in section 4.3 revealed that the epithets of the ark and the verbs used to move the ark, and some other shared expressions and themes points to the possibility that Josh 6 relies on the synoptic texts of the ark's movement in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.¹²⁷

One of the frequently repeated contents related to the movements of the ark in Josh 6 is the playing of music, which occurs in vv 4, 5, 8, 13, 16, 20. As we have already pointed out, the text of Josh 6 was influenced by 2 Sam 6:15//1 Chron 15:28aαβ.¹²⁸ Josh 6 uses the name of a musical instrument (שׁוּפָרָה) and 'war cry' (חֲרוּעָה) as 2 Sam 6:15//1 Chron 15:28aαβ.

Furthermore, Josh 6 shares a biblical outlook with non-synoptic text in Chronicles. Seven named priests who blow trumpets are listed in 1 Chron 15:24, but the number 'seven' is not made explicit in this text. In Josh 6, by contrast, the number 'seven' is repeated and emphasised. In Josh 6: 4, 8, 13, the explanations on the 'seven' priests who blow the trumpets before the ark, are repeated and may indicate that this text was related to 1 Chron 15:24.

'Warcry' (חֲרוּעָה), which is 'a motif of the divine war tradition (1 Sam 4:5; 17:20, 52; etc.)',¹²⁹ plays an important role in this conquest story.¹³⁰ As we have seen above, this vocabulary item is one of the major words that dominate the flow of this narrative. חֲרוּעָה was used in the texts of source material as 2 Sam 6:15//1 Chron

¹²⁷ For this, see 4.3.2. and 4.3.3.

¹²⁸ Of these, 1Chron 13:8, 28 are synoptic with 2Sam 6:5, 15.

¹²⁹ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 93. See also G. von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, 41-51.

¹³⁰ S.M. Kang, *Divine War in the Old Testament and in the Ancient Near East*.

15:28αβ, and in the non-synoptic text 1 Sam 4:5. In these ark texts, תרועה is used in the contexts of ‘raising sounds to make others hear’. In Josh 6, the war cry was used almost in the same way as that in Chronicles and Samuel, but in a rather dramatic way. In Josh 6:10, the people of Israel are ordered to keep quiet for six days to make the warcry of the seventh day more dramatic. Josh 6:10 seems to be a redactional layer inserted into the basic layer influenced by Samuel and Chronicles in order to heighten the dramatic effect of the Jericho conquest story.

The word, שכם, (‘to rise early in the morning’) occurs six times in Joshua,¹³¹ and is used twice in this narrative (6:12, 15): once in relation to Joshua (v 12), and once in relation to the whole people (v 15).¹³² As we have seen in 4.3.6.11, this word also occurs in 1 Sam 5:3, which belongs to later non-synoptic material.

Nelson maintains that the phrase ‘put all silver and gold, and vessels of bronze and iron into “the treasury of Yahweh”’ (Josh 6:19, 24) is either anachronistic or proleptic.¹³³ Here, MT inserts בית between אוצר and יהוה in Josh 6:24. Likewise, MT interpolates ‘house’ in Josh 9:23, and ‘sanctuary’ in 24:26.¹³⁴ Josh 6:19, 24 appear to recall the synoptic text, 1 Kgs 7:51//2 Chron 5:1. Recollecting the phrase באצרות בית יהוה in these texts, MT may insert בית in Josh 6:24.

The curse upon ‘anyone who builds Jericho again’ (6:26) is one of two curses by Joshua: the other is on the Gibeonites (9:23).¹³⁵ According to Dietrich, this verse belongs to the ‘DtrP layer’,¹³⁶ which prepares for the Hiel story in 1 Kgs 16:34.¹³⁷ Even though his hypothesis is based on a ‘flexible’ identity,¹³⁸ he seems to

¹³¹ Josh 3:1; 6:12, 15; 7:16; 8:10,14.

¹³² A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus the Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 137.

¹³³ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 95.

¹³⁴ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 138.

¹³⁵ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 139.

¹³⁶ DtrP: A prophetic Deuteronomistic layer, which is a redactional layer, reconstructed basically on the basis of the book of Kings, but compatible with the DtrH and DtrN stages. M.N. van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 149.

¹³⁷ W. Dietrich, *Prophetie und Geschichte: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (FRLANT 108) Göttingen 1972, 110-112.

¹³⁸ For this, see Auld’s book review (in press) on M. N. Van der Meer, *Formulation and Reformulation*. According to Auld, R. Smend, Jr, himself argued that these many Deuteronomistic features are flexible.

catch the relationship between Josh 6:26 and 1 Kgs 16:34. Josh 6:26 also appears to consider 1 Kgs 16:34. Tov sensibly holds that the latter is earlier than the former.¹³⁹

Therefore, we can divide the literary layers of Josh 6 as follows.

1. Basic layer, which is influenced by the synoptic source materials (BTH) of the ark's movement in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles; Josh 6:1-3a, 5-6aα, 7, 8aβb, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18-20, 21, 24, 27.
2. Late-biblical outlook shared by Josh 6 and non-synoptic special materials in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles: Josh 6:4 (שבעה), 8 (שבעה), 12, 13 (שבעה), 15a, 16 (השביעית), 26.
3. Redactional Insertion; 6:10, 17, 22-23, 25
4. MT Pluses; 6:1 (מפני בני ישראל), 3 (תעשה שש ימים), 4 (והכהנים יחקעו בשופרות) כהנים ישאו שבעה שופרות היובלים לפני הארון וביום השביעי תסבו אתהעיר שבע פעמים ישאו שבעה שופרות יובלים לפני ארון יהוה (6aβb), (בשמעכם אתיקול השופר) 5, (ושבעה מפיהם דבר) 10, (ויהי כאמר יהושע אליהם) 8aα, (שאו אתארון הברית ושבעה כהנים), (רק ביום ההוא סבבו אתהעיר שבע פעמים, כמשפט הזה) 15, (הלך ארון) 13, (ולא יצא לפני יהוה) 26, (בית) 24, (וירע העם) 20 (כי החבאתה אתהמלאכים אשר שלחנו) 17 (אתיריחו)

4.4.4. The Movement of the Ark in the Wilderness (Num 10:33-36)

Concerning Num 10:33-36, Noth regards v 33 as J and contends that the expression 'the covenant' in the epithet of 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' is *ein späterer deuteronomistischer Zusatz*.¹⁴⁰ In addition, the description of the pillar of cloud in v 34 is a later insertion to explain that the ark in v 33 plays a different role

¹³⁹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 139; E. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 159.

¹⁴⁰ M. Noth, *Das vierte Buch Moses, Numeri*, (ATD 7, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1966), 70.

from that of the pillar of cloud, which told Israel when to camp and when to move on in P material. According to Noth, vv 35-36 also belong to J and is linked to v 33.¹⁴¹

According to Seebass, vv 29-32 belongs to J, vv 33-34 to post-Dtr and vv 35-36 to post-priestly Redaction.¹⁴²

For Coats, recognizing a literary history made up of J, P, and redactional elements is not a meaningful way to study Num 10:33-36.¹⁴³ According to him, this text should be considered in the context of Num 10:11-36, which is a unit. He holds that 'the structure of this text is determined by a conceptual unity, to which the composition of the text's heterogeneous elements has remained subordinate'.¹⁴⁴

However, some other scholars have considered the relationship between the Pentateuch and Former Prophets from a different direction. Wellhausen contends that the priestly description of the ark in the Pentateuch is younger than the portrait drawn in Samuel, and Rost supports him by arguing that the AN was a tenth century BCE document which functioned as the *ἱερὸς λόγος* of the Jerusalem sanctuary.¹⁴⁵ Von Rad also denies the origin of the ark narrative in the Wilderness and focuses on connecting the ark with rituals of worship, linking it to the sanctuaries in Shiloh and Jerusalem.¹⁴⁶ Campbell also holds that the ark narrative originated from a priestly circle during the period of David and Solomon.¹⁴⁷ Of course, they see that the ark texts in the Pentateuch reflect those in the Former Prophets, but they do not appear to recognise the relationship between the formation of Chronicles, Former Prophets, and the Pentateuchs closely.

The epithet, *ארון ברית יהוה*, in Num 10:33 is a basic expression which appears

¹⁴¹ M. Noth, *Das vierte Buch Moses, Numeri, ATD 7*, 71-2.

¹⁴² H. Seebass, *Numeri* (BKAT IV/1ff.; Lieferung 1; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1993), 1-19.

¹⁴³ W. Coats, *Numbers, FOTL IV* (Eerdmans: Michan, 2005), 149-170.

¹⁴⁴ W. Coats, *Numbers, FOTL IV*, 152.

¹⁴⁵ L. Rost, *The Succession to the Throne of David* (Historic Texts and Interpreters in Biblical Scholarship, 1; trans. M.D. Rutter and D.M. Gunn; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1982), 6-34.

¹⁴⁶ G. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy* (London: SCM Press, 1953), 127; idem, *Deuteronomy, OTL* (London: SCM Press, 1966), 79-80; idem, *Old Testament Theology I: The Theology of Israel's Historical Traditions*. Translated by D.M.G. Stalker. (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 234-41.

¹⁴⁷ A.F. Campbell, *The Ark Narrative (1 Sam 4-6; 2 Sam 6)*, 221.

in all the texts on the carrying of the ark. This verse seems to be a non-Priestly material, affected by the ark texts in the Former Prophets.

The expression, 'the cloud of Yahweh', in Num 10:34 also seems to recall the phrase, 'a cloud filled the house of Yahweh', in the synoptic text 1 Kgs 8:11//2 Chron 5, which is also non-Priestly.

The departure and the return of the ark in vv 35-36 do not appear to be connected with the itinerary of the ark, but to the battle with the enemy.¹⁴⁸ The texts in which the ark and war are related, are 2 Sam 5:11-6:23//1 Chron 13-16 and 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2 (Philistines) and Josh 3-4, 6 (Jericho). Vv 35-36 also appear to be influenced by a war story related with the movements of the ark, which are also non-Priestly.¹⁴⁹

4.5. Conclusion

Through the analysis of words and expressions in the ark narratives, we can argue for a possible development of texts from the materials shared between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. In particular, ארון יהוה, ארון ברית יהוה, הארון, ארון האלהים are the basic designations of the ark, which appear in all the texts from Num 10:33-36 to 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5. Other designations were added to these four expressions, which are the basic epithets of the ark dwelling in the Temple of Jerusalem, the texts on the path of the ark in Chronicles and the Former Prophets seem to have formed, by which the two epithets in Num 10:33-36 also appear to be influenced. Scholars such as Wellhausen, Rost, Von Rad, and Campbell also hold that the expressions of the ark in the Pentateuch rely on those in the Former Prophets. The verbs which

¹⁴⁸ M. Noth, *Das vierte Buch Moses, Numeri*, ATD 7, 71-72.

¹⁴⁹ The systematised contents related with the march in Num 9:15-10:32 seem to be later than 10:33-36, which belongs to P.

appear in the texts describing the ark's movement also support this possibility. Among the verbs, נשא is the basic expression that occurs in all the texts except for that in Num 10:33-36. In the ark texts of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, בוא and עלה are also used as the basic verbs, to which other expressions are added, and the epithets have been developed into various expressions. The two verbs (נח, נסע) used in Num 10:33-36 (only נח in v 36 is used in the non-synoptic text of 1 Sam 6:18) do not exert any influence on the verbs used in Chronicles and the Former Prophets. In addition, the priests and the Levites as the carriers of the ark, the divine epithets, all Israel and all the people, the names of musical instruments, the expressions describing the ritual, the war theme, etc., support the possibility of reading the literary history of these ark texts backwards as Auld suggested: the basic story of the monarchy (BTH) is earlier than the story of Israel before the monarchy.

Furthermore, Joshua, and the non-synoptic texts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles share some biblical outlooks and expressions: 1) Joshua and Chronicles share a late biblical outlook: seven named priests who blow trumpets in 1 Chron 15:24, 'seven' priests, who blow the trumpets before the ark in Josh 6. 2) Josh 3:3 shares the compound word (י)הלויים הכהנים with 1 Chron 15:14; 2 Chron 5:5. 3) 1 Sam 6:15 shares the expression related to the Levites and rituals with late special materials in Chronicles. There are some other late non-synoptic materials, which are also shared by the similar texts in Joshua.

The analysis of 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5, shows that it is not possible to simply argue that Chronicles was written later than Samuel-Kings. Although there are long non-synoptic materials in 1 Chron 15:1-24, 16:4-42, 2 Chron 5:11b-13, there are many more small pluses in 2 Sam 6, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11 including a long plus in 2 Sam 6:20b-23. B, 4QSam^a also supports the possible

priority of Chronicles to MT-Samuel: a) the verbs used to move the ark in B and 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6 agree with those in 1 Chron 13-16, but not with those in MT - 2 Sam 6 b) B, 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:5, 1 Chron 13:8 use שִׁירִים, but MT-2 Sam 6:5 uses בְּרוּשִׁים and B, 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:5, 1 Chron 13:8 represent עָז, but MT-2 Sam 6:5 represents עֵץ.

Therefore, we can read the literary history of Josh 3-4 with the help of similar ark texts in 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5. Josh 3-4 is influenced by the synoptic texts of the ark's movement in Chronicles and Samuel-Kings (BTH).

There are similar water crossings in Exod 13:17-14:31 and 2 Kgs 2. How do they affect the formation of Josh 3-4? The next chapter will investigate the relevance of reading Josh 3-4 in the context of Moses' and Elijah-Elisha's water crossing story.

Chapter Five

Reading Josh 3-4 in the context of Exod 13:17-14:31 and 2 Kgs 2

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the relevance of reading Josh 3-4 in the wider context of Exod 13:17-14:31 and 2 Kgs 2, which are the water crossing stories of Moses and Elijah-Elisha.

The writer noted that the shared materials in the ark texts of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (BTH) affect those in the Pentateuch and Former Prophets in Chapter Four. This chapter will examine how the ‘special Kings material’¹ such as Elijah-Elisha’s crossing of the Jordan (2 Kgs 2) is linked to other similar texts in the Pentateuch (Exod 13:17-14:31) and in the Former Prophets (Josh 3-4).

In order to find enough connections to justify putting them in any order at all, I will examine some shared words, major themes and motifs in these texts. Then, I will examine how the literary layers in Exod 13:17-14:31, Josh 3-4, and 2 Kgs 2 are connected with each other.

5.2. Preliminary Analysis of the Study of the Literary History of Exod 13:17-14:31, Josh 3-4, and 2 Kgs 2

Before we read the literary history of Josh 3-4 with the help of Exod 13:17-14:31 and 2 Kgs 2, we will analyse some common words, phrases, and major themes

¹ A. G. Auld, *Joshua Retold*, 107.

in these texts.

5.2.1. Shared Words

5.2.1.1. Words which are used in the same way in all three passages

5.2.1.1.1. חרבה (Exod 14:21; Josh 3:17, 4:18; 2 Kgs 2:8)

חרבה is common to all three narratives (Exod 14:21; Josh 3:17, 4:18; 2 Kgs 2:8) and it refers to 'dry ground'.

5.2.1.2. Words which are used in all three passages, but are used differently

5.2.1.2.1. הרים (Exod 14:8, 16; Josh 4:5; 2 Kgs 2:13)

Forms of הרים appear in all three narratives, once each as a verb in the hiphil form (הרים), and adjectivally in Exod 14:8. It is used in qal, participle form in Exod 14:8 and the phrase ביד רמה contains a rather different meaning ('boldly') from the others (Exod 14:16; Josh 4:5; 2 Kgs 2:13).

הרים is not common in Exodus or Kings; and it is used in Joshua only in 4:5. It is used in Exod 14:16, when Moses was commanded to 'lift up' his staff to divide the waters of the sea. It also appears in Exod 7:20, where Moses lifts up his rod and strikes the water (of the Nile), and changes it into blood in the sight of Pharaoh. In Josh 4:5, it was used to describe the action of twelve appointed men who 'lift high' a stone. In 2 Kgs 2:13, it occurs in the situation where Elisha 'lifts up' his master's mantle. Although הרים is used in each narrative, there is variation in its use. In Josh

4:5, what they ‘lift high’ is not the medium by which the waters are parted (as in Exod 14:16 and 2 Kgs 2:13), but the stones by which they remember the event. Perhaps a pattern is being both suggested and deliberately altered. Thus, with only the fact that רים appears in all three texts, it does not seem possible to find a definite relationship among these texts.

5.2.1.2.2. חמשים (Exod 13:18; Josh 4:12; 2 Kgs 2:16)

Exod 13:18, Josh 4:12, and 2 Kgs 2:16 all includes the consonants חמשים, but each text understands this differently: ‘in [military] formation’ in MT or ‘the fifth generation’ in LXX-Exod 13:18; ‘in [military] formation’ in Josh 4:12 and ‘50’ in 2 Kgs 2:16. MT-Exod 13:18 reads חמשים as ‘in [military] formation’ like Josh 4:12, but LXX-Exod 13:18 recognizes a numerical meaning, just as in 2 Kgs 2:16.² The possible significance of this consonantal cluster comes from the fact that it does occur in all three stories, but is not common elsewhere in these three books. However, because of the semantic variation, it may be more difficult to establish a historical order of the texts just by the appearance of the same consonants.

5.2.1.3. Words which appear only in Exodus and Joshua

5.2.1.3.1. יבשה (Exod 14:16, 22, 29; Josh 4:22, 23)

The other expression for ‘on dry ground’, יבשה, occurs in Exod 14:16, 22,

² For more of this, see B.S. Childs, *Exodus*, OTL (London: SCM, 1974), 218; D.U. Rottzoll, *Abraham Ibn Esras Langer Kommentar zum Buch Exodus 1* (Berlin; New York: Walter De Gruyter, 2000), 373-4.

29; Josh 4:22, 23, but 2 Kgs 2 does not represent this word.

5.2.1.3.2. שׁוּב (Exod 14:26, 27, 28; Josh 4:18)

In Moses' Reed Sea crossing story, שׁוּב was used repeatedly in Exod 14:26, 27, 28 to describe the return of the waters and the drowning of every member of the Egyptian army. In Josh 4:18, it was used to explain the return of the waters of the Jordan to their original place. However, there is no special reference to the water returning to its original place in 2 Kgs 2.

5.2.1.3.3. ים סוּף (Exod 13:18; Josh 4:23)

Exod 13:18 and Josh 4:23 share ים סוּף. 2 Kgs 2 does not represent the name ים סוּף.

5.2.1.4. Words which appear only in Exodus and Kings

5.2.1.4.1. רוּחַ (Exod 14:21; 2 Kgs 2:9, 15, 16)

The word רוּחַ ('breath', 'wind', 'spirit', etc.) is used in Exod 14:21 and 2 Kgs 2:9, 15, 16. In Exod 14:21, God causes a strong easterly 'wind' (בְּרוּחַ) to blow all night. It is apparent that this wind has no divine nature.³ It is God's tool to drive the waters of the sea back. Moreover, even though it is used in only two contexts of

³ The similar use of רוּחַ can be found in Genesis 1:2 in the phrase 'a wind of God (רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים) was hovering over the face of the waters' and in Num 11:31, 'and a wind went out from the Lord' (וַיֵּצֵא יְהוָה רוּחַ וַיָּבֵא בָרָק וְנֶשֶׁם וְרוּחַ נֹסֵעַ). For the formation relationship of Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers, see A.G. Auld, 'Leviticus at the Heart of the Pentateuch' and 'Leviticus: After Exodus and Before Numbers' in *Samuel at the Threshold*, 225-42.

shared material by Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (1 Kgs 10:5//2 Chron 9:4; 1 Kgs 22:21, 22, 23, 24//2 Chron 18:20, 21, 22, 23), רוח is an important element in the succession narrative of Elijah-Elisha. It appears three times in this narrative (2 Kgs 2:9, 15, 16).⁴ It refers to ‘the spirit of the prophet’ in 2 Kgs 2:9, 15, and ‘the spirit of Yahweh’ (רוח יהוה) in 2 Kgs 2:16. Therefore, the רוח in 2 Kgs 2 had a divine nature, but in Exod 14:21 it refers to wind in general. Josh 3-4 does not represent this word at all. Therefore, the word רוח does not help us to find a link between the narratives.

5.2.1.5. Words which appear only in Joshua and Kings

5.2.1.5.1. עבר (Josh 3:1, 2; 4:10, 11, 12; 2 Kgs 2:8)

Josh 3-4 and 2 Kgs 2 represent עבר, but Exod 13:17-14:31 does not use the word. It is rather extraordinary that the word עבר does not appear in the Reed Sea crossing story.

5.2.2. Shared Themes

5.2.2.1. Succession Narratives

The theme of succession is common to Josh 3-4 and 2 Kgs 2. In Josh 3-4, the succession of Moses’ leadership to Joshua is emphasised by the following verses: In Josh 3:7, God promises to Joshua that that day he will begin to increase him in the eyes of all Israel, that they may know that, as he was with Moses, so he will be with

⁴ A.G. Auld, ‘Samuel, Numbers, and the Yahwist-Question’, in J.C. Gertz, K. Schmid & M. Witte (eds), *Abschied vom Jahwisten*, (Berlin;NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 241. Auld holds that “[t]he spirit which Isaiah says Yahweh will put on the king of Assyria (II Kgs 19,7//Isa 37, 7) to make him return home will be a theme borrowed from I Kings 22.”

Joshua. In 4:10, MT inserts the phrase *ככל אשר צוה משה אחיהוושע* ('according to all that Moses had commanded Joshua') to stress the succession. In 4:14, we read that Yahweh increased Joshua in the sight of all Israel because of the Jordan crossing event, and they stood in awe of him - as they had stood in awe of Moses, all the days of his life. Joshua's leadership succession is also accepted by the priests who faithfully obeyed his command (Josh 3:6; 4:16-18).

In 2 Kgs 2:9, Elisha asks his master to let him inherit a double share of his spirit. Some argue that here Elisha wished to be recognised and equipped as the true successor of Elijah.⁵ Deut 12:17 explains that to receive the double portion was the share of the eldest son in Hebrew law. In 2 Kgs 2:14, when Elisha struck the water with the mantle of Elijah, the waters parted. In 2:15, recognising that the spirit of Elijah rested upon Elisha, the sons of prophets 'prostrated themselves' (*וישחחו*) before him. In 2:19-25, two further episodes demonstrate Elisha's authority and show the succession of the spirit and leadership of Elijah to Elisha.

Thus, we can see that Josh 3-4 and 2 Kgs 2 contain a story of succession, but we cannot find any shared words supporting this common theme. However, Exod 13:17-14:31 lacks the theme of succession.

5.2.2.2. War Motif

In Exod 13:17-14:31, strong military terminology and motifs appear often: 'in [military] formation' (*חמשים*) (MT-Exod 13:18), 'fight' (*לחם*) (Exod 14:14, 25), 'all Pharaoh's army' (*כל חיל פרעה*) (Exod 14:4, 9, 17, 28), 'chariot' (*רכב*) (14:6, 7, 17, 18, 23, 28) and 'horseman' (*פרש*) (14:9, 17, 18, 23, 25, 26, 28) and 'horses' (*סוס*) (14:9, 23), 'chariot wheels' (*אפן מרכביו*) (14:25), 'army or camp' (*מחנה*) (14:20, 24).

In Josh 3-4, there are also some military connotations. Josh 3:2 includes the

⁵ J. Gray, *I&II Kings*, 475; T.R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 21; E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige I.Kön. 17-2.Kön. 25*, 275; B.O. Long, *2 Kings*, 22, 26-7.

word מחנה ('camp') and Josh 3:10 the phrase Yahweh will "certainly drive out" (והורש יירש) the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Hivites, the Perizzites, the Girgashites, the Amorites, and the Jebusites. In 3:16 and 4:13, those expressions seem to connect the event of crossing the Jordan with the conquest of Jericho: 'and the people passed over opposite Jericho' (והעם עברו נגד יריחו), '(about) forty thousand ready for battle passed over before Yahweh for battle to the plains of Jericho' (ב[כ] ארבעים אלף חלוצי הצבא עברו לפני יהוה למלחמה אל ערבות יריחו).⁶ In 4:12 and 13, more concrete military expressions are used. In 4:12, the word חמשים ('in [military] formation') appears. V 13 includes exact military phrases 'forty thousand ready for battle' (ארבעים אלפ⁷ חלוצי הצבא) and 'for battle' (למלחמה).

In 2 Kgs 2:11 the terms 'a chariot of fire' (רכב אש) and 'horses of fire' (וסוסי אש) are used. In this verse, the words are not closely related to war, but simply used to distinguish between the two actors. In 2 Kgs 2:12, the titles 'the chariots of Israel' (רכב ישראל) and 'its horsemen' (ופרשיו) appear. LXX and Vulgate use the singular form ופרשו in this verse. Some argue that these titles are applied to Elisha, who was more involved in external politics than Elijah, and that the present story of Elijah's translation is really secondary to the tradition of his bequeathing a double portion of the prophetic spirit to Elisha.⁸ However, Hobbs holds that this attempt to show a literary dependency of Elijah's titles on the latter Elisha's story (2 Kgs 13:14) is not successful.⁹ In any case, the expressions referring to war in this verse are not closely linked to a war context, but they are simply used to emphasise Elijah. In 2 Kgs 2:16, the phrase '50 valiant people' (חמשים אנשים בניחיל) appears. בניחיל is

⁶ Only MT has 'about' here.

⁷ For the use of this word (חלוצי), see also D.U. Rottzoll, *Abraham Ibn Esras Langer Kommentar zum Buch Exodus 1*, 373-4. For this, we will discuss further in the next chapter.

⁸ J. Gray, *I&II Kings*, 472; J.C. Williams, "The Prophetic 'Father,'" *JBL* 85 (1966), 346; A. Rofé, "The Classification of the Prophetic Stories," *JBL* 89 (1970), 436; E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige 1.Kön. 17-2.Kön. 25*, ATD (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 275; Cf. M.A. Beek, "The Meaning of the Expression 'The Chariots and the Horsemen of Israel,'" *OTS* 17 (1971), 1-10; B.O. Long, *2 Kings*, FOTL (Michigan: Grand Rapids, 1991), 27.

⁹ T.R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, WBC (Texas: Waco, 1985), 21-2.

ambiguous in the narrative of 2 Kings 2. Some argue that it means “men of substance” able, and expected, to maintain themselves or “substitutes in readiness for war”¹⁰ or “sons of power”, which can refer to soldiers, although not exclusively so.¹¹ However, according to Long, בְּנֵי־חַיִל should be understood as “loyal and upstanding” men, worthy of another’s trust.¹² Thus, בְּנֵי־חַיִל does not seem to be directly related to war, but is more likely to refer to strong men, who are capable of searching the area for days to find Elijah.¹³

If we survey the shared expressions again briefly, the following words may be included: חַמְשִׁים (MT-Exod 13:18; Josh 4:12), רֶכֶב (Exod 14:6, 7, 17, 18, 23, 28; 2 Kgs 2:12), פָּרֶשׁ (Exod 14:9, 17, 18, 23, 25, 26, 28; 2 Kgs 2:12), מַחֲמָה (Exod 14:20, 24; Josh 3:2), חַיִל (Exod 14:4, 9, 17, 28; 2 Kgs 2:16), לָחֶם in Exod 14:14, 25 and מִלְחָמָה in Josh 4:13. First, Exod 13:17-14:31 makes use of the expressions used in both Josh 3-4 and 2 Kgs 2. Regarding the frequency and variety of these words, Exod 13:17-14:31 seems to be the most developed story. Coats holds that water crossing stories are mainly related with the conquest tradition, and the motifs of war and water crossing in Exod 13:17-14:31 are later than that in Josh 3-4.¹⁴ However, it is not easy to decide. Second, we can see that there is no single word that can be found in all these three narratives regarding the war motif. Furthermore, as we have seen above, it is difficult to assign a military context to these expressions in the case of 2 Kgs 2.

¹⁰ J. Gray, *I&II Kings*, 476.

¹¹ T.R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 22.

¹² B.O. Long, *2 Kings*, 28. For similar expressions of this, see בְּנֵי־חַיִל (2 Sam 2:7; 13:28), אִישׁ חַיִל (1 Kgs 1:42), בְּנֵי־חַיִל (1 Kgs 1:52), כָּל־בְּנֵי־חַיִל (Deut 3:18), אֲנִשְׁי־חַיִל (Gen 47:6; Exod 18:21, 25).

¹³ J. van Seters argues that ‘crossing water’ has an idiomatic meaning referring to military campaigns that can be traced back to Near Eastern inscriptions, particularly in Assyrian annals and the letters to the god. According to him, they may also stress at the onset of a campaign the overcoming of special physical obstacles, such as a flooding river or a difficult mountain range. For this, see J. van Seters, *In Search of History*, 60-8, 330. Yet, as we see here, even though these texts include some words that could be related to war, 2 Kgs 2 does not have any direct military connotations. Thus, it would be more plausible to read them in the context of other water crossing stories in the Old Testament, which are about entering and leaving a land: leaving Egypt (Exod 13:17-14:31), the Israelites’ entering Canaan (Josh 3-4), Elijah’s ascension to Heaven (2 Kgs 2).

¹⁴ G.W. Coats, ‘The Song of the Sea’, *CBQ* 31 (1969), 1-17; idem, ‘The ark of the covenant in Joshua: a probe into the history of a tradition’, *HAR* 9 (1985), 137-57.

5.2.2.3. The Route to the Water

In Exod 13:17-22, the people of Israel set out from Succoth and camped at Etham¹⁵ (13:20). In Exod 14:1-4, a somewhat different place-name, Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, and in front of Baalzephon appears. The difference of proper names in these two parts (Exod 13:17-22 and 14:1-4) seems to be the result of the different history of literary layers. However, it is not easy to sort out the differences between MT and LXX regarding these place-names as it is not possible to know where these places are.¹⁶

In Josh 3-4, Joshua and his people go from the Jordan to Gilgal, from where Elijah and Elisha leave (2 Kings 2).¹⁷ The route taken by Elijah and Elisha before crossing the Jordan is Gilgal-Bethel-Jericho-Jordan river.

What we see here is that Josh 3-4, and 2 Kgs 2 both mention the place names Jordan and Gilgal, and the crossing takes place at the same location, but in the opposite direction.

On the other hand, Exod 13:17-14:31 is about the crossing of the Reed Sea; therefore, that story cannot be compared to the other two in terms of the place names.

¹⁵ Symmachus, Aquila and Theodotion represent אֶתֶן, which appears in 14:27. After אֶתֶן, Sam and most likely the *Vorlagen* of Syr and Tgs. add אֶתֶן. MT seems to be original. For this, see W.H.C. Propp, *Exodus 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB (New York; London; Toronto; Sydney; Auckland: Doubleday, 1998), 465.

¹⁶ For this, see M. Noth, *Das zweite Buch Mose: Exodus/ Das Alte Testament Deutsch* (Teilband 5), (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 86-7; W.H.C. Propp, *Exodus 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 465-66. Cf. D.U. Rottzoll, *Abraham Ibn Esras Langer Kommentar zum Buch Exodus 1*, 379.

¹⁷ A.G. Auld, *Joshua, Judges, and Ruth*, The Daily Study Bible Series (Westminster/John Knox Press, Louisville, 1984), 23.

5.2.2.4. Water: מי הירדן (Exod 14:2, 9, 16, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30), הים (Josh 3:8, 13; 4:7, 18, 23), המים הירדניים (Josh 3:13, 16), הירדן (2 Kgs 2:6, 7, 13), המים (2 Kgs 2:8, 14)

If we pay attention to the expressions for 'water itself', in Exod 13:17–14:31, the words 'the sea' is mainly used (14:2, 9, 16, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29,30). In Josh 3-4 the words הירדן and המים appear in the construct form: מי הירדן (Josh 3:8, 13; 4:7, 18, 23), המים הירדניים (Josh 3:13, 16). However, in 2 Kgs 2, the words הירדן and המים appear separately. הירדן is used three times (2 Kgs 2:6, 7, 13), but in the scene itself, where the miracle of dividing the water takes place, the word המים (2 Kgs 2:8, 14) is used. Here again, it is not easy to find common points in using words related with 'water'.

5.2.2.5. The Shape of the Divided Water

Exod 14:21 closely describes the shape of the divided waters: 'Yahweh drove the sea back by a strong east wind all night' (ויולך יהוה את־הים ברוח קדים עזה), 'and turned the sea into dry land' (וישם את־הים לחרבה), 'and the waters were divided' (ויבקעו המים). In Josh 3-4, the division and stopping of waters are also closely described. In Josh 3:13, Joshua predicts that the waters of the Jordan flowing from above 'shall be cut off' (יכרתו), and 'shall stand in one heap' (ויעמדו נד אחד). Then, in 3:16, the prediction comes true; the waters flowing from above 'stood' (יעמדו) still, were 'rising up' (קמו) in one heap, and 'were wholly cut off' (נכרתו־חמו). Yet, to describe the shape of divided water, 2 Kgs 2 uses only one word חצה (2 Kgs 2:8, 14)

In Exod 14 the divided waters formed a wall (והמים להם חמה מימנם ומשמאלם) (Exod 14:22, 29). In Josh 3-4, the waters stood still and rose up in 'one heap' (גד אחד) (Josh 3:16). Origen holds that Joshua's miracle is greater than Moses': the waters were gathered in one heap, rather than forming two walls.¹⁸ In 2 Kgs 2, the water is described as being parted 'to the one side and to the other' (הנה והנה) (2 Kgs 2:8, 14).

¹⁸ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 109.

5.2.2.6. The Media Used to Perform a Miracle: Moses' Staff, (the feet of the priests carrying) the Ark, and Elijah's Mantle

In all of these three narratives, some kind of medium is used to perform a miracle. In Exod 14, Moses lifts up his staff to divide the sea. In Josh 3-4, the feet of the priests carrying the ark work as the medium of miracle. Elijah used his rolled up mantle to part the waters of the Jordan.

If we consider their relationship to each other, we can see that Moses' rod and Elijah's mantle are associated with Yahweh as the symbol of His power authorizing Moses and Elijah to be human carriers of God's symbol and agents of miracle. The ark in general is associated with Yahweh as the symbol of His presence and power. Yet, unlike Moses' rod and Elijah's mantle, it is not closely associated with Joshua, but with the priests. Although the rod and mantle belonged to Moses and Elijah, the Ark in no sense belonged to Joshua. The ark is much more associated with Moses or David than with Joshua in the sense that Moses had made it and David carried it into Jerusalem.

5.2.2.7. The Pillar of Cloud and Fire, and the Ark: the Symbols of Yahweh's Presence

In Exod 13:21-22, the pillar of cloud and fire, which is also the symbol of Yahweh's presence, shows Israel the way to the Reed Sea. In Exod 14:19, the messenger of God and the pillar of cloud were behind the Israelites. In 14:20, the pillar of cloud and fire becomes a barrier protecting the Israelites in an image of terrifying splendor.

The interpretation of v 20 (יִבָּא בֵּין מַחֲנֵה מִצְרַיִם וּבֵין מַחֲנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְהִי הָעֶנָן) is

:(והחשך ויאר את-הלילה ולא-קרב זה אליה כל-הלילה: has proved to be extremely difficult. There have been three major approaches to this problem: 1) One follows the MT and tries to explain this verse along the lines of the Targum: the same cloud produced darkness to the Egyptians and light to the Israelites. 2) One seeks a different root meaning of the verb *ray* using the comparative philological method. 3) One tries to reconstruct a verbal form from the noun 'darkness' or make some use of the LXX ἡλθεν.¹⁹ LXX has a quite different text : καὶ ἐγένετο σκότος καὶ γνόφος καὶ διῆλθεν ἡ νύξ ('and there was darkness and blackness, and the night passed'). If its meaning is that at night the pillar did not light up as a pillar of fire but remained dark, the gap between the two camps was veiled with mysterious and total darkness so that no one could - or in view of the miraculous nature of the phenomenon dared to penetrate.²⁰ In this sense, the understanding of LXX seems to be relevant. In Exod 14:24 (ויהי באשמרת הבקר וישקף יהוה אל-מחנה מצרים בעמוד אש וענן ויהם את מחנה מצרים:), Yahweh himself looked down upon the camp of the Egyptians from within the pillar of fire and cloud and caused them to panic. These are the same two pillars that lead the Israelites in their wilderness journey.²¹

In Josh 3-4, the ark, being the symbol of God's presence, leads Israel's crossing of the Jordan. As we have seen in Chapter Four, the ark carried by the priests dominates the narratives of Josh 3:1-4:19.

In 2 Kgs 2, Elisha simply follows his master Elijah, there is no symbol of the guiding presence of God.

Although Van Seters argues that the pillar of cloud and fire in Exod 13:17-14:31 has the similar function to the ark in Josh 3-4,²² we cannot find any strong

¹⁹ B.S. Childs, *Exodus*, 218.

²⁰ M. Noth, *Das zweite Buch Mose*, 91.

²¹ J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* (Westminster/John Knox Press, Louisville, 1994), 138.

²² J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses*, 144.

connections between these three narratives relating to the symbol of God's guiding presence.

5.2.3. Summary of the Preliminary Analysis

The preliminary analysis revealed that these three stories share some words, but only *חַרְבָּה* appears in all of these three narratives (Exod 14:21; Josh 3:17; 4:18; 2 Kgs 2:8) and refers to the same meaning in all three passages.

However, in almost all other cases, most of the shared words are used in different ways: *חֲמֻשִּׁים* – 'in [military] formation' in MT-Exod 13:18 and Josh 4:12, but '50' in LXX-Exod 13:18 and 2 Kgs 2:16; *בִּיד רָמָה* – 'boldly' in Exod 14:8, 'lift up' in Exod 14:16, 'raise high' in Josh 4:5, and 'pick up' in 2 Kgs 2:13; *רוּחַ* – 'wind' in general sense in Exod 14:21, 'the spirit of Yahweh or prophet' in 2 Kgs 2:9, 15, 16; *פָּרֶשׁ, רֶכֶב, חֵיל* – used in a military context in Exod 14, but with no military connotations in 2 Kgs 2.

Some of these terms are absent from this or that: *שׁוּב* in 2 Kgs 2, *עָבַר* in Exod 13:17-14:31. There are other key expressions related to dividing waters in Exod 13:17-14:31 like *נָטַח, נִבְקָעוּ, וַיִּשְׁמְאוּ, מִיַּמִּינִם וּמִשְׁמָאלָם*, but they do not occur in Josh 3-4 and 2 Kgs 2. Even although one can find some similar words, these do not enable us to establish a line of development, or even a linkage of these water dividing stories.

There are also some thematic similarities and shared motifs in these three stories.

Josh 3-4 and 2 Kgs 2 have similar theme of succession: Moses-Joshua and Elijah-Elisha, but there are no shared words related to this theme. Exod 13:17-14:31 does not contain this story of succession.

Exod 13:17-14:31 and Josh 3-4 represent strong military terminology and connotations, but it is not easy to find them in 2 Kgs 2.

Exod 13:17-14:31, Josh 3-4, and 2 Kgs 2 have similar accounts of travelling from one place to another. Josh 3-4 and 2 Kgs 2 have common place names such as Jordan and Gilgal, but Exod 13:17-14:31 represents rather different names.

In all three narratives some different word and expressions are used to describe the divided waters. For the water itself, Exod 13:17-14:31 uses הַיָּם, Josh 3-4 the construct forms מִן הַיְרדון and הַמַּיִם הַיְרודיים, and 2 Kgs 2 הַיְרדון and הַמַּיִם separately. To describe the shape of divided waters, Exod 14:21 uses the phrases וישם את־הים לחרבָה, ויוֹלךְ יהוה אֶת־הַיָּם ברוח קדים עזה כל־הלילה, and Josh 3:16 יעמדו, כמו, נכרתו־חמו, but 2 Kgs 2 יבקשו המים חצה (2 Kgs 2:8, 14). To describe piled-up waters, Exod 14 employs the phrase והמים להם חמה מימינם ומשמאלם (Exod 14:22, 29), while Josh 3-4 uses גֵּידָאֲחָד (Josh 3:16).

Concerning the media used to perform a miracle (Moses' Staff, the feet of the priests carrying the ark, and Elijah's mantle) and the symbols of Yahweh's presence (the pillar of cloud and fire, and the ark), each narrative uses different expressions and it is not easy to find any clue to explain their connection.

We can see here that Exod 13:17-14:31, Josh 3-4, and 2 Kgs 2 have some similar themes and motifs. Yet, in the use of detailed words and phrases to describe them, these three water stories demonstrate significant differences. In almost all of the cases they use different words.

5.3. Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore the relevance of reading Josh 3-4 in the wider context of Exod 13:17-14:31 and 2 Kgs 2, which are the water crossing stories of Moses and Elijah-Elisha. In particular, the writer noted how non-shared material such as Elijah-Elisha's crossing of the Jordan (2 Kgs 2) is linked to other texts in the Pentateuch (Exod 13:17- 14:31) and in the Former Prophets (Josh 3-4).

However, the analysis of words, themes and motifs in these three narratives led us to unexpected consequences. There is only one word (חרבה) that is used in exactly the same way in all three passages, although it is not so surprising as the word 'dry ground' appears in the stories of dividing the waters and crossing on 'it'. There are two more words (חרים, חמשים) which occur in all three passages, but are used differently. In Exod 14:16 and 2 Kgs 2:13, חרים is used to express the motion of raising high the medium by which the waters are divided, but in Josh 4:5 twelve stones at the brink of the Jordan. The consonantal cluster of חמשים also occurs in all three passages, but it is not common elsewhere in these three books. Furthermore, the varied vocalisation and interpretation of these consonants makes it more difficult to find the appropriate link between them. Almost all the other shared words are also used in different ways. Moreover, most of the expressions used to describe the shared themes and motifs are different in each narrative. We can find only some superficial connection among these texts.

Therefore, even if we found some shared words and themes in these three stories, it would not be easy to establish a line of development or a historical order of the texts. Rather, it would be better to read the literary history of Josh 3-4 in the context of other ark narratives as suggested in Chapter Four.

Chapter Six

Polzin and the Literary History of Joshua 3-4

6.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to reconstruct the literary history of Josh 3-4 in the light of the results of our study up until now. This kind of diachronic historical-critical analysis should (with Polzin) be based on the complex narrative, as being ‘necessary for an *adequate* scholarly understanding of what it means’.¹ Even though Polzin states that his competent literary reading is ‘*preliminary*’² and calls for a historical-critical analysis, he does not present any consequent diachronic study of Joshua 3-4. Polzin’s synchronic reading is certainly not the only way to understand this complex text and leaves many text-critical issues unanswered. How, for example, would Polzin explain the large number of MT pluses, about which he said nothing in his synchronic study? This chapter aims to address these issues by studying the literary history of Joshua 3-4, this being one of the most complex literary composites in the book of Joshua.

However, to reconstruct the literary history of Josh 3-4, we will have to complete the textual history first. Through text critical analysis, we have come to understand the limitations of Polzin’s literary reading on Joshua 3-4. By considering only the final shape of MT-Joshua 3-4, his study overlooks several differences between the MT and the LXX in Josh 3-4. Text critical analysis led us to conclude that these differences were not caused by scribal error or exegetical variation from the LXX side.

¹ R.M. Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist*, 3.

² R.M. Polzin, *Moses and the Deuteronomist*, 5.

Rather, the Greek text of Joshua 3-4 appears to be more faithful to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX and earlier than the MT. Thus, we will consider both the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX and the MT in order to examine the complex literary history of Josh 3-4.

Therefore, we will first make a comparison between the OG³ *Vorlage* and the MT-Josh 3-4. In the areas where they disagree, which of the two seems to be primary - or is neither primary?

Second, we will reconstruct the literary history of Josh 3-4 based on our findings.

Finally, we will critique Polzin's literary reading of this narrative, especially on his lack of attention to its literary history.

6.2. The Textual History of Josh 3-4: Comparison between the OG *Vorlage* and the MT

Before we examine the literary history of Josh 3-4, it is necessary to decide which text we should read, as we have found a lot of differences between the LXX and the MT, and have discovered in Chapter Three that these reflect differences between the OG *Vorlage* and the MT-Josh 3-4. First, we will analyse the pluses in the OG *Vorlage* and MT-Josh 3-4. Subsequently, we will investigate the other disagreements between the OG *Vorlage* and MT. If we study those differences more closely, we may come to understand the textual history better, and can decide whether we should read the literary history of Josh 3-4 based on the MT, or the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, or a possible

³ OG: I mean what Margolis calls OG. Here OG = LXX^B except when noted.

reconstruction of an 'original' text common to the MT and the LXX *Vorlage*.

6.2.1. The Pluses in the MT and the OG *Vorlage*-Josh 3-4

If we look at [Table 1] in Chapter Three (3.2.1), which shows the LXX, the retroversion of the LXX, and the MT, we find a considerable number of pluses in the MT and the OG *Vorlage*-Josh 3-4 and many more pluses in the MT than in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX: MT pluses: 3:1 (הוא וכל־בני ישראל), 3 (ואתם), 6 (לאמר), 7 (כי), 10 (יהושע), 11 (לפניכם), 12 (ועתה), 13 (איש־אחד, כפות), 14 (ויהי), 15 (כל), 16 (ויהי־ממנו־הגלי־הכהנים, לכמ מזה, לאמר), 3 (איש־אחד, שנים עשר, לכם), 2 (יהי), 4:1 (הכן), 17 (מאדם), 4 (איש־אחד), 5 (יהושע), ארון, אלהיכם, בני, 7 (נכרתו מי הירדן, בירדן), 9 (בתוך), 10 (תוך), 18 (הכהנים, כפות, תוך), 21 (ויאמר אל־בני ישראל), 11 (העם), 13 (כ), 14 (עם), 18 (הכהנים, כפות, תוך), 21 (ויאמר אל־בני ישראל), 22 (הזה, ויהי). Pluses in OG *Vorlage*: 3:3 (ויהוה, הכהנים, יהוה), 6 (למחר), 5 (ויהוה, הכהנים, יהוה), 15 (הכהנים, הברית, יהוה, הירדן, ברית יהוה), 16 (השם, הירדן, ברית יהוה, הברית, הכהנים), 8 (נם, כן, בני), 7 (בני); 4:3 (אחרים), 9 (יהוה), 8 (כל הארץ, לאמר, אתה), 7 (תמיד), 6 (שנים עשר, לנשה, משם, לפני), 5 (ואתם, ויהוה), 10 (הברית), 11 (ברית), 16 (ברית, יהוה), 19 (בני ישראל), 21 (אליכם), 23 (יהוה אלהינו), 24 (אתם).

Some pluses in the paragraph above are specific to this text, while others are very common in the Old Testament. We can better understand both pluses and the textual history of Josh 3-4 by focussing on the more unusual words and expressions.

6.2.1.1. The Pluses in MT-Josh 3-4

6.2.1.1.1. 'he and all the sons of Israel' (3:1)

In the first verse of this narrative, only MT represents **הוא וכל-בני ישראל**. Syriac attests only **בני ישראל** (the sons of Israel).⁴ 'All Israel' is the usual expression in the Hebrew Bible.⁵ Josh 1:2 has a similar MT plus (**לבני ישראל**). According to Van der Meer, **לבני ישראל** after **להם** in the MT is merely redundant and superfluous, but not unique.⁶ He insists that this is possible classical Hebrew, in which there exists a construction containing a double indirect object with the same preposition as in **ויתן להם משה לבני נדו לבני ראובן ולחצי שבט מנשה** (Num 32:33). In addition he says that the absence of **לבני ישראל** is the result of a shortening of a superfluous Hebrew expression by the Greek translator. However, even if we admit the redundancy in the Hebrew expression, in Josh 1:2 **והם** identifying **להם** had already appeared in the preceding clause. Therefore, **לבני ישראל** might be an MT plus, inserted by an editor to elucidate a shorter text.⁷ Similarly, an MT editor interpolated **הוא וכל-בני ישראל** in Josh 3:1. In the entire Old Testament, this rather unusual expression appears only once, this being in Num 27:21. This is a plus in the MT, which seems to be interpolated to manage the awkward shift of subject from the singular 'he got up early' to the plural 'they went...'.⁸

6.2.1.1.2. **ויאמר אל-בני ישראל, לאמר** (3:6), **ויאמר אל-בני ישראל, לאמר** (4:21)

LXX does not represent **ויאמר אל-בני ישראל** in Josh 3:6. Similarly, **ויאמר אל-בני ישראל** is absent in LXX-Josh 4:21. Boling holds that this is a mechanical copying error: a sizable haplography (**ויאמר אל-בני ישראל** לאמר) in the LXX.⁸ However, even if this form

⁴ R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 156.

⁵ S. Holmes, *Joshua, the Hebrew and Greek Texts*, 22.

⁶ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 196.

⁷ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,' 391.

⁸ R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 183.

appears in 4:1b, 15, **וַיֹּאמֶר** after **לֵאמֹר** is still uncommon. Therefore, this might rather be a conscious editorial expansion of the Hebrew text. Both **וַיֹּאמֶר** in 3:6 and **וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** in 4:21 are redactional interpolations to introduce the direct discourse and to re-emphasise the identity of speaker and addressees.

6.2.1.1.3. כִּי (3:7)

Only MT contains the plus **כִּי** in 3:7. Sipilä insists that **ὅτι** was omitted because of the following **καθότι**.⁹ This is the only case in the book of Joshua, where **כִּי** initiating an object clause has no ‘visible counterpart’ in the LXX *Vorlage* and is, therefore, an uncertain case to judge.

6.2.1.1.4. וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ (3:10)

MT-Josh 3:10 has the plus **וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ**. MT repeats the phrase ‘and Joshua said’, which appeared already in 3:9. As in 3:6 and 4:21, this plus was inserted by an editor to introduce the direct discourse and emphasise the speaker Joshua. In 4:5 and 4:10 as well, MT inserted **יְהוֹשֻׁעַ** to emphasise and legitimise the role of Joshua.

6.2.1.1.5. לִפְנֵיכֶם (3:11)

LXX does not represent **לִפְנֵיכֶם**. Except for this MT plus, **לִפְנֵיכֶם** appears only once in Josh 24:12.

6.2.1.1.6. כְּפֹת (3:13; 4:18)

כְּפֹת is absent in LXX-Josh 3:13 and 4:18.¹⁰ In the book of Joshua, **כֶּתֶב** appears

⁹ S. Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom*. 185.

¹⁰ **כְּפֹת** appears in Num 7:84, 86; Josh 3:13; 4:18; 1 Sam 5:4; 1 Kgs 5:17; 2 Kgs 9:15; 2 Chron 24:14; Song 5:5; Isa 60:14; Eze 43:7; Dan 10:10; Mal 3:21, etc.

once in 1:3, and כפוח twice 3:13; 4:18. Even though כף in 1:3 is rendered by ιχνει, כפוח in the other two verses are MT pluses. This appears to be redactional interpolation by an MT editor to describe the miracle more vividly and concretely.

6.2.1.1.7. (3:13) מלמעלה ו-- נר אחד

MT is much longer at the end of 3:13, and represents the plus מלמעלה. מלמעלה ו-- נר אחד and אחד are quite common, but נר is quite a rare word in the Old Testament, appearing only in Exod 15:8, Josh 3:13, 16, Ps 33:7; 78:13 and Isa 17:11. Even though מלמעלה ו-- נר אחד appears once more in this narrative (Josh 3:16), this expression cannot be found again in the Hebrew Bible. An editor seems to insert this phrase from 3:16 to make the two clauses correspond.

6.2.1.1.8. (3:17) הכן

MT-Josh 3:17 contains the plus הכן. הכן is a quite uncommon form in the Old Testament. These three consonants are vocalised and used in different ways: in Gen 43:16; Num 23:1, 29; 1 Chron 29:18; Ps 119:133; Prov 24:27; Jer 46:14 as Ezek 38:7 as a hiphil imperative form, in Ezek 38:7 also as a niphil imperative; in Nah 2:6 as hophal waw consecutive perfect; and in Josh 3:17 as a hiphil infinitive absolute.

6.2.1.1.9. (4:2, 3) לכם

LXX has no corresponding *dativus ethicus* in 4:2, 3. Margolis holds that לכם was not expressed in LXX-Josh 4:2, because 'implied in παραλαβών.' In 4:3 as well, he suggests that it is not expressed in Greek because it is 'implied in the middle' [voice].¹¹ However, Tov lists לכם in 4:2, 3 as an MT plus. He describes it as a small elucidation

¹¹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 111.

interpolated by MT editor.¹² We should also judge this to be an uncertain case.

6.2.1.1.10. איש-אחד (4:2)

It is surprising that the MT ends each of 3:12; 4:2, 4 with the same words, as does B, but only MT-Josh 3:12; 4:2, 4 represent one more איש-אחד. The uncommon repetitive expression, איש-אחד איש-אחד, appears only once in Num 13:2 except for these MT pluses in the entire Old Testament. An MT editor seems to have interpolated this phrase in order to make the same repetitive emphatic expression in all of these three verses.

6.2.1.1.11. ממצב רגלי הכהנים (4:3)

This long phrase ממצב רגלי הכהנים is absent in OG *Vorlage* of Josh 4:3. Boling holds that the LXX lost this phrase by haplography from the LXX *Vorlage*, having been framed by words which begin and end with the same letter ה: הכין and הירדן.¹³ However, his idea that a mechanical copying error caused this variant is highly implausible, as behind his assumption lies the prejudice that this kind of problem happened because of mistakes on the LXX side. The word מצב used in this sense also appears in Josh 4:9; Isa 29:3.¹⁴ Furthermore, this form ממצב, appears only once in Isa 22:19 (ממצבך), other than this MT plus in Josh 4:3. This MT plus probably originated through an editor, who tries to emphasise the middle of the Jordan.

6.2.1.1.12. יהושע (4:5)

OG *Vorlage* does not represent יהושע in Josh 4:5. The repetition of יהושע is rather

¹² E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,' 391.

¹³ R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 157.

¹⁴ Even though מצב appears several times in the book of Samuel (1 Sam 13:23; 14:1, 4, 6, 11, 15; 2 Sam 23:14), it has a different meaning, *garrison*, in these verses.

awkward, because this subject leads v 4 as well. This is a redactional interpolation in the MT side to remove ambiguity in this verse.

6.2.1.1.13. ארון (4:5)

LXX-Josh 4:5 does not contain ארון. MT seems to insert this word in order to correct theological problems in this verse.¹⁵ An MT scribe tries to solve the clumsiness of this verse, in which Yahweh himself stands in the middle of the Jordan.¹⁶ In addition, the redundancy of לפני was awkward to him. To sort out all these problems, he removed one לפני, and interpolated ארון between לפני and יהוה. In several places of the OG *Vorlage*, the expression 'in front of the Lord' appears. This idea, which implies direct contact with God, has been changed by the interpolation of the words 'the ark of': 6:7, 13; 7:6.¹⁷

6.2.1.1.14. אלהיכם (4:5)

OG *Vorlage* does not have אלהיכם in Josh 4:5. MT appears to insert this word for the purpose of theological correction as ארון above.¹⁸ By adding these words, MT tries to remove the anthropomorphic feature in OG *Vorlage* of Yahweh standing in the middle of the Jordan and clearly explain it as God of Israel (אלהיכם).

6.2.1.1.15. חוק (4:9, 10, 18)

Only MT represents בחוק or מחוק in Josh 4:9, 10, 18. Den Hertog explains the phrase ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἰσχυρῶν as being one of many cases where Gk has left חוק untranslated, but without mentioning αὐτῷ. The other חוק pluses are in MT-Josh 7:21, 23;

¹⁵ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,' in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible. Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. (SVT 72), 394.

¹⁶ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 69.

¹⁷ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua,' 394.

¹⁸ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,' 394.

12:2; 13:16. Auld holds that it may be better to explain αὐτῷ as at least a 'shadow' of חֹדֶךְ. In 4:10 as well, 'in the midst of' (בְּחֶדֶךְ) is rendered simply as 'ב' (ἐν).¹⁹ This may be another uncertain case.

6.2.1.1.16. ככל אשר צוה משה את־יהושע (4:10)

MT-Josh 4:10 includes the long plus ככל אשר צוה משה את־יהושע. Van der Meer maintains that the Greek translator stylistically shortened this verse for the sake of a smooth, intelligible and elegant Greek text.²⁰ According to him, if there had been some specific additional instructions which a later editor sought to incorporate into the MT text, this plus could have been regarded as an redactional interpolation.²¹ However, no extra instructions could be found. There are no specific instructions from Moses to Joshua with respect to the crossing of the Jordan recorded in the Pentateuch. This makes it very difficult to suppose that a later editor deliberately interpolated this phrase.²² However, as he himself explains the clumsiness of this plus, we cannot find any equivalent instructions from Moses to Joshua with regard to the crossing of the Jordan. Rather, this plus seems to be due to the influence of Deuteronomy.²³ In Deut 3:28, we find that God commands Moses to command Joshua. It may be possible to assume that a later editor inserted this phrase to show the fulfillment of God's command, as given in Deut 3:28. In addition, these phrases could be related to the attempt to underline the transition from Moses to Joshua, which could be found in Josh 3:7 and 4:14.

¹⁹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 115-16.

²⁰ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 189.

²¹ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 182.

²² M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 183.

²³ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,' 394.

6.2.1.1.17. מחר, אח־אבותם (4:21)

MT-Josh 4:21 contains the pluses מחר, אח־אבותם. In this case as well, since the OG *Vorlage* is closer to the general form of the formula,²⁴ these pluses are due to proto-masoretic additions. It is likely that an MT scribe put מחר to match this verse with the general form in Deut 6:20 and Josh 4:6. אח־אבותם also makes the syntax of this verse a bit awkward. The subject of this verse is בניכם, so the cognate object would be אתכם, not אח־אבותם. This plus (אח־אבותם) seems to have been inserted by an MT redactor, who misread the syntax of this verse.

6.2.1.1.18. הזה (4:22)

The OG *Vorlage* does not represent the plus הזה in Josh 4:22. Van der Meer argues that the pronoun is removed in LXX *Vorlage* to improve the style of the redundant Hebrew text.²⁵ However, the phrase הירדן הזה is quite uncommon in the Old Testament. הירדן הזה appears only in Gen 32:11; Deut 3:27; 31:2; Josh 1:2, 11; 4:22. Furthermore, these demonstrative elements in Josh 1:2 and 4:22 are MT pluses. The plus is a small elucidation introduced by a later editor of the book.²⁶ An MT scribe inserted the word into this verse to stress the Jordan and the miracle of its stopping.

6.2.1.2. The pluses in the OG *Vorlage* Josh 3-4

6.2.1.2.1. וַיֵּן וְיָ (3:3)

LXX-Josh 3:3 represents the plus ἡμῶν καὶ. The Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX

²⁴ S. Sipilä, 'The Septuagint Version of Joshua 3-4,' 69.

²⁵ M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 195.

²⁶ E. Tov, 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation,' 332.

may have had כהניו והלויים. The division between the priests and Levites, inserting a conjunction (ו) between the two words is later than that of Deuteronomy, which emphasises only one Levitical priesthood.²⁷ However, the OG *Vorlage* also seems to understand them as a single group: the ark, and (carrying it) our priests and the levites. One difficult problem we have to solve in these pluses is ‘our priests’. ‘Our priests’ appears only four times in the MT in Ezra 9:7 and in Neh 9:32, 34; 10:1. Vulgate’s *et sacerdotes stirpis leviticae* supports the MT. On the other side, Targum and Syriac underscore the LXX distinction here and in 9:2.²⁸

6.2.1.2.2. למחר (3:5)

The OG *Vorlage* contains the plus למחר in Josh 3:5. Num 11:18 bears a similarity to this verse, where the rare החקרשו is also used and where Moses specifies למחר. The close connection between the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX and Numbers seems to explain the literalness of the Greek rendering.²⁹

6.2.1.2.3. חטים (3:15)

MT-Josh 3:15 does not attest the Hebrew word חטים. The word pair קציר חטים occurs quite often in the Bible (Gen 30:14; Exod 34:22; Jud 15:1; Ru 2:23; 1 Sam 6:13; 12:17). The paraphrase of this passage in 4Qapocryphon of Joshua^b also agrees with the OG *Vorlage* in specifying this harvest time as the period of the wheat harvest.³⁰ MT might have smoothed and generalised the specified reading of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX-Josh 3:15. However, as it is an LXX plus, supralinear in 4QJosh^b, it would also be

²⁷ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 39.

²⁸ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 103.

²⁹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 104.

³⁰ K. Bieberstein, *Joshua-Jordan-Jericho. Archäologie, Geschichte und Theologie der Landnahmeerzählungen Josua 1-6*, 152-54.

possible to think that the shorter MT is more original. Therefore, we should judge this as being another uncertain case.

6.2.1.3. Conclusion on the pluses in the OG *Vorlage* and MT-Josh 3-4

Through the close examination of the pluses in both the OG *Vorlage* and MT, we learned that there are a larger number of pluses in the MT than in the OG *Vorlage*, and that those MT pluses are quite rare and unusual in the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore, this large number of pluses in MT seems to have been interpolated later to solve some clumsiness in a verse (often syntactic), or redactionally inserted with some theological or exegetical purpose. However, the pluses in the OG *Vorlage* are quite common in the Old Testament and appear to belong to the original text of Josh 3-4. Thus, we can entertain the possibility that the pluses in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX are original and primary, while those in the MT are secondary and are possibly later interpolations. However, we cannot confirm this possibility yet as there are some uncertain cases that cannot be judged, and there are still a number of questions to be answered.

6.2.2. Other Divergences between the OG *Vorlage* and MT in Josh 3-4

In the previous section (6.2.1), we examined the pluses in the two texts. In this section, we will identify and analyse the various other divergences between the OG *Vorlage* and the MT. We have already discussed many issues regarding the differences between the OG *Vorlage* and the MT in Josh 3-4 in Chapter Three on text critical analysis. In this section, we will focus our study mainly on those issues that we did not

examine closely in Chapter Three.

[3:1] The OG *Vorlage* has ויסע in comparison to the MT ויסעו. The syntax of the Hebrew *Vorlage* is a bit awkward, where only Joshua “set out” from Shittim and all the people went to the Jordan. MT smoothes the *lectio difficilior* contained in the OG *Vorlage* by changing the singular ויסע into the plural ויסעו. Furthermore, a later editor interpolated the plus הוא וכל בני ישראל to clarify the syntax of this verse.

[3:3] MT has אלהיכם but the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX has the inclusive אלהינו. This occurs quite often in this narrative (3:3, 4, 5, 9, 10; 4:23, 24). In the OG *Vorlage* Joshua includes himself among the people, but in the MT Joshua excludes himself from the people. The MT shows theological development, distinguishing Joshua from other people to authorise the leadership.

[3:4] MT attests במדה (*by the measure*) but the OG *Vorlage* חעמדו. Even although במדה appears in Lev 19:35 and 2 Chron 3:3, its use in this verse is rather unusual.³¹ One could postulate a possible copying error by an MT scribe. However, it would be safer to assume a theological variation from the MT side. The command to keep a measurement of exactly two thousand cubits distance seems to show ritual enactment and cultic development. There are many scholars who regard this narrative as cultic. Soggin relates this event with liturgical preparation for the Passover in Exodus.³² Wilcoxin also understands all the narrative of Joshua 1-6 in the context of the cult legend of the Passover.³³ According to him, the whole narrative of Joshua 1-6 consists

³¹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 104.

³² J.A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 55-6.

³³ J.A. Wilcoxin, ‘Narrative Structure and Cult Legend’, in ed. J.C. Rylaarsdam, *Transitions in Biblical Scholarship* (Chicago: Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1968), 43-70.

of two seven-day periods. First, the series of events constituted by the crossing from its preparation in Joshua 1 to its sequel of the Passover observance in Joshua 5 occupies a seven-day period.³⁴ Second, the capture of Jericho (chap. 6) also occupies a period of seven days. He links the seven days of the circumambulations of Jericho with ritual events. Soggin believes that this event would have exactly corresponded to the seven days of the spring Festival of Unleavened Bread, which follows immediately upon the first event, Passover.³⁵ Furthermore, by paying attention to the two additions made by an editor in Josh 5:11, 12, Auld also noted MT's effort to make this text correspond to the correct ritual date of the Passover in Lev 23:5-6.³⁶ In 3:4, an MT editor pays attention to the keeping of exact distance from the ark by changing תעמור into במדה (*by the measure*). In the regulations on the towns for the Levites in Num 35:4 as well, the concrete distance of one thousand cubits is emphasised. The ark could be explained as the symbol of divine presence. In Exod 33:17-23, Israel is warned to keep its distance from the danger of the divine holiness. Reviewing the past incident of Uzzah in 2 Sam 6:1-11//1 Chron 13:5-14, an MT editor seems to have tried to enact the safe and exact ritual distance from the ark, about two thousands cubits by the measure in 3:4.

[3:8] The Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX has ועתה but MT has ואזכה. The two terms sound alike, so a scribal mistake could have been made in dictation from one to the other. However, it could also have been possible that the MT changed ועתה into ואזכה to emphasise the subject and to authorise the leadership of Joshua as observed in other parts of this narrative.

³⁴ J.A. Wilcoxin, 'Narrative Structure and Cult Legend', 60-61.

³⁵ J.A. Wilcoxin, 'Narrative Structure and Cult Legend', 61-63.

³⁶ A.G. Auld, *Joshua Retold*, 12.

[3:9] MT represents דברי יהוה but the OG *Vorlage* דבר יהוה. In the Hebrew Bible, both expressions appear quite often. As Soggin suggests, we can assume possible dittography of the *yod* in the MT; the early abbreviation for יהוה was later confused with the suffix.³⁷ However, it would not be plausible to guess a copying error in the other direction. In some other parts of the book of Joshua, supporting the OG *Vorlage*, יהוה accompanies the singular form דבר יהוה: (8:27), את־הדבר אשר־דבר יהוה, (14:6), דבר יהוה: דבר יהוה (14:10), and הדבר הטוב אשר־דבר יהוה (21:45).

[3:11] As we have seen in Chapter Three, the presence of the article before ברית in the MT and its absence in the LXX are quite difficult to explain. Soggin contends that the Syr insertion of יהוה after ברית as in v 13 is more probable.³⁸ However, Langlamet correctly points out his grammatical problem with the article before the *nomen regens*.³⁹ *Zāqēp parvum* on הברית in the MT makes two short phrases in apposition: ‘the ark of the covenant, the lord of all the earth’. The lack of the article in many Greek witnesses is all the more striking. Auld suggests that ‘lord’ here is not the divine name, but a common Hebrew noun.⁴⁰ If ‘lord’ is a common noun and part of a chain of nouns in genitive relationship, then it and also ‘covenant’ should have the Greek article. Den Hertog comments that the presence of a redundant article in the corresponding phrase in the MT may let the absence of a normal article in B appear original.⁴¹ The problem in the MT might be caused by a copyist’s interpolation of the definite article, who thought the absence of it in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX was unusual.

³⁷ J.A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 48.

³⁸ J.A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 48.

³⁹ F. Langlamet, *Gilgal et les récits de la traversée du Jourdain*, 46-7.

⁴⁰ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 107

⁴¹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 107.

[3:14] The beginning of verse 14 in the OG *Vorlage* is a little different from that of the MT: i.e. ויסע in LXX *Vorlage* but ויהי בנסע in MT. The opening formulaic ‘and it came to be’ is generally resumed by a finite verb in Biblical Hebrew. 4:18 starts in a similar way with ויהי בעלות and represents finite verb נחקו; but MT-Josh 3:14-15 is more complex: the main finite verb does not appear until v 15. The same phrase ויהי בנסע appears in Num 10:35 but the finite verb ויאמר follows later in the verse. Probably, MT-Josh 3:14 adapted the opening of this verse clumsily.⁴²

[3:16] The MT has the geographical name מארם but the OG *Vorlage* simply attests מאר, ‘extremely’. The Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX has קריית יערים but MT reads צרתן. However, the geographical description in the OG *Vorlage* seems to be more difficult. Because Kiriath-jearim is fairly distant from the Jordan, it is hardly possible for the Jordan water to stand, rising up in a single heap far from a city, that is beside Kiriath-jearim. Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus also support the MT’s צרתן. Furthermore, both textual traditions attest two different verbs in v 16: עמדו in the LXX *Vorlage* but עברו in the MT. However, if we read this narrative more closely, all the people finish crossing the Jordan toward the city of Jericho in 4:13. Thus, in 3:16 עמדו נגד יריחו (had stood opposite Jericho) would be better. An MT editor might have changed this word into עברו to solve the inconsistency that all the people had already completed crossing the Jordan in 3:17 and 4:1.

[3:17] The MT represents הנוי but B *Laos*, which is the standing equivalent for the Hebrew עמ.⁴³ The Hebrew word הנוי in the MT is rather exceptional for העם in the

⁴² A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 108.

⁴³ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 110.

OG *Vorlage* because the regular term to express ‘the people [Israel]’ throughout the Hebrew Bible is *העם*. However, in 3:17 and 4:1, 11 MT reads *הגוי*, “which is normally used for one of the other nations of the earth. [OG *Vorlage*] is more straightforward: it has understood ‘all the people’ as being equivalent to the preceding ‘all the sons of Israel’. Jewish tradition has understood ‘all the *goy*’ as referring to those members of other nations who were associated here with Israel.”⁴⁴ Some would say the word, *הגוי*, is used to make all the nations participate in this miracle of God’s people, so it is original. However, its use here in the MT is unusual in the Hebrew Bible.

[4:6-7] MT represents the plural form *כִּי־יִשְׁאָלוּן בְּנֵיכֶם וְאָמַרְתֶּם לָהֶם* but the OG *Vorlage* singular *כִּי־יִשְׁאֵל בֶּן־אִתְּחָה אָמַרְתָּ לְבִנְךָ*. Exod 13:14-5 and Deut 6:20-21, which have the same question and answer form as in Josh 4:6-7, support the LXX *Vorlage*. For more on this, see below on the literary history of Josh 4:6-7.

[4:8] a. The Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX has *כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ* but the MT reads *כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ*. Similarly, the MT attributes an instruction to Joshua, but the OG *Vorlage* to Yahweh in 9:3. In 4:5 and 5:15 as well, ‘Joshua’ is a plus in the MT. The MT tries to magnify Joshua to compare his leadership to that of Moses. The MT seems to be later than the OG *Vorlage*.

b. The MT attests *בְּתוֹם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעֶבֶר* but the OG *Vorlage* *לְעֶבֶר בְּתוֹם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל*. As in 3:12, the MT has more theologised term *שְׁבַע*. The MT tries to connect the number twelve with the number of tribes, which shows that the MT is later than the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX.

⁴⁴ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 110.

[4:10] In the OG *Vorlage* 'till Joshua fulfilled all that Yahweh commanded to tell the people' (עד תם יהושע כל-הדרב אשר-צוה יהוה לדבר אליהם) is used, while in the MT this becomes 'till everything was completed that Yahweh commanded Joshua to tell the people' (עד תם כל-הדרב אשר-צוה יהוה את-יהושע לדבר אליהם). MT also represents אשר-צוה משה את יהושע which is lacking in the OG ('according to everything which Moses commanded Joshua'). Barthélemy seems to be right in that there were two distinct literary treatments in the MT and the LXX – and these were not just small differences. Moatti-Fine also supports his detailed diagnosis, that the LXX had omitted what appeared contradictory, while the MT had wanted to underline the transmission from Moses to Joshua. She finds some harmonising variations in vv. 4, 5, 9, 10.⁴⁵ However, it seems to be difficult to decide from which text those variations happened.

[4:11] The MT represents לפני העם but the OG *Vorlage* לפנייהם. Here, the syntax of the MT is awkward, because in v 11a, all the people completed the crossing of the Jordan, but in 11b, the priests are crossing the river before the people. 4:11 again supports the priority of the OG *Vorlage*.

[4:18] The OG *Vorlage* contains ויחנו but the MT נחקו. Since כפות is an MT plus, ויחנו רגלים in the OG *Vorlage* would be more correct syntax.

[4:20] The Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX has the third person singular verb לקח, while the MT has the third person plural לקחו. The OG *Vorlage* suggests that Joshua is the subject of the action that had taken twelve stones from the Jordan, but in the MT, the

⁴⁵ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 116.

subject is ‘twelve men from each tribe’. Even though twelve esteemed men chosen from each tribe have taken those stones in 4:1-8, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX may use the singular verb לקח to emphasise the role of Joshua as the commander in charge of all the action. It seems that the MT has adjusted the singular verb in the OG *Vorlage* to the plural, given the syntax of 4:1-8.

[4:24] The OG *Vorlage* contains כל-מעשה, while the MT כל-הימים. כל-הימים occurs here only in the book of Joshua. One can find the similar expression כל-ימי חייו in Josh 4:14, 24:31. A’s reading χρόνος is also the straightforward rendering of ימים.⁴⁶ However, כל-מעשה appears also in Josh 24:29 (31). There seems to be some relationship between 4:14 and 4:24.⁴⁷ It is possible that the MT adjusted בכל-מעשה in the OG *Vorlage* to כל-הימים in Josh 4:24, reading כל-ימי חייו in 4:14. בכל-מעשה as in the OG *Vorlage*-Josh 4:24 also occurs in Deut 2:7; 14:29; 16:15; 24:19; 30:9; 2 Kgs 22:17; 2 Chron 31:21; Est 10:2.

Through the analysis of those instances where the OG *Vorlage* and the MT disagree (outwith the pluses in both texts), we can also find some important features regarding the textual history of Josh 3-4.

First, the OG *Vorlage* contains rather common and usual expressions, which can be supported by other parts of the Old Testament, while, on the other hand, the MT attests rare and unusual variations in the Hebrew Bible (3:9, 14, 17; 4:6-7, 18, 24). Second, the MT shows theological development and improvement: the OG *Vorlage* has the inclusive ‘our’, but the MT ‘your’ (3:3, 4, 5, 9, 10; 4: 23, 24), which reflects the MT’s theological development, distinguishing Joshua from other people to authorise his

⁴⁶ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 120.

⁴⁷ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 120.

leadership; the MT contains variations which show ritual enactment and cultic development (3:4); the MT also uses more developed and theologised terms than the OG *Vorlage* (3:12; 4:8); in addition, the MT tries to compare Joshua's leadership to that of Moses and to emphasise the transmission from Moses to Joshua (4:8,10); finally, the MT changes the expression in the OG *Vorlage* to highlight the fulfilment of God's promise (4:14). Third, the OG *Vorlage* has some more difficult readings, and the MT smooths these over by exegetically and redactionally changing them (3:1; 4:20). Fourth, the OG *Vorlage* sometimes shows a better understanding of the context of this narrative than the MT (3:16; 4:11, 18). Fifth, even though it is not so plausible to assume scribal error from one to another, there are some verses which could be better explained by copying error on the MT side: 3:3, 9, 11; 4:22, 24.

Therefore, one could argue that almost all of these features in the cases in which the OG *Vorlage* and the MT disagree (except for the pluses in both texts of Josh 3-4), seem to support the priority of the OG *Vorlage*. Furthermore, the OG *Vorlage* appears to be the better text for reading the literary history of Josh 3-4.

6.2.3 Conclusion: Differences between the OG *Vorlage* and the MT-Josh 3-4

Through a comparison of the OG *Vorlage* and MT-Josh 3-4, we found many differences, notably many more pluses in the MT than in the OG *Vorlage*. A close examination of these differences brings to light some interesting aspects of both the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX and the MT.

A great number of pluses and variants in the MT-Josh 3-4 are rather rare and

unusual in the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore, we considered the possibility that these divergences in the MT were inserted later with theological and exegetical intention: these being redactionally interpolated to solve some syntactical clumsiness in a verse. However, almost all the pluses and variants in the OG *Vorlage* are quite common in Old Testament Hebrew. Thus, we can conclude that the divergences in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX are primary and original to the text of Josh 3-4, while those in the MT are secondary and were inserted later.

However, some critics might argue that the text with more unusual expressions shows the writer's or editor's originality and should be primary, and that a later scribe had simplified these. We can answer this by saying that there are some expressions or styles that a writer or editor usually uses, and if an expression or style of any part is different, then it is not impossible to think there may have been some variation by another hand.

However, this study will keep an open mind yet regarding the textual history and reconstruct the literary history of Josh 3-4 based on both texts, as there are only a few cases that could be judged as being uncertain, as in, for example, 6.2.1.1.3, 6.2.1.1.9, 6.2.1.1.15, and 6.2.1.2.3, etc.

6.3. Literary Critical Analysis of Josh 3-4

6.3.1. Introduction

Scholars have made many attempts to explain the many repetitions, inconsistencies, and mislocations in this text: for example, the period problem of 'three days' between 1:11 and 3:2; the sudden and awkward command to select twelve men from each tribe in v 12; two different stories of the erection of twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan (4:9) and at the brink of the Jordan (4:1-8, 20); the repetition of the cultic question and answer between children and parents (4:6-7, 21-24), etc. However, the criteria for their diachronic readings are considerably divergent: almost all of them have too many literary strata, and their results are too fragmentary. Furthermore, almost all of their investigations are focused only on the MT text, notwithstanding, as we saw in our text critical analysis above, that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX seems to be the better and prior text. This study will, therefore, reconstruct the literary history of Josh 3-4 based on both the OG *Vorlage* and MT, compare these, and see carefully where these take us.

Through the literary critical analysis to the retroversion of the LXX *Vorlage* and the MT, this study intends to explore various layers of materials of what is a highly complex narrative.⁴⁸ Then, we will provisionally name the possible layers in the retroversion of the LXX *Vorlage* a, b, c, d ... and in MT α , β , γ , δ ..., not using the familiar Deuteronomistic theory, to which almost all diachronic researchers are

⁴⁸ However, for those parts where the LXX and the MT are different, and other than the MT and the LXX pluses, with regard to the results of our text critical analysis, this research followed the LXX *Vorlage*.

indebted.⁴⁹ In particular, the writer will try to read the literary history of Josh 3-4 with the help of those conclusions that we reached in Chapters Four and Five. This writer will consider the findings of previous chapters, namely that the shared material in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (BTH) influenced those texts in the Pentateuch and Former prophets.

Initially, we will try to observe how far the material that began in 3:1 could be continued without break, and then will try to read each new section, as far as is possible, without severance. At the conclusion of the literary critical analysis, we will examine the result of our research as archaeologists or geologists do when they find evidence of different strata: this will involve the characters in each layer of text, the episodes in each layer; and then, the changes to those episodes, as the different layers are combined. Then, we will investigate the distribution of major words in each layer to observe whether our research comes to a satisfactory result. Furthermore, we will try to compare the result of our research on the literary history of Josh 3-4 based on the retroversion of the LXX *Vorlage* and the MT, and examine what emerges from these results.

⁴⁹ The concept of the so-called Deuteronomistic or Deuteronomic history has recently been persuasively challenged by many scholars. For further information on this, see A.G. Auld, 'The Former Prophets' in S.L. McKenzie and W.P. Graham (eds), *The Hebrew Bible*, 53-68; idem. 'The Deuteronomist between History and Theology' (Congress Volume: Oslo, 1998/s), 353-367; idem. 'The Deuteronomist and the Former Prophets, or What Makes the Former Prophets Deuteronomistic?' in L.S. Schearing & S.L. McKenzie (eds), *Those Elusive Deuteronomists* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 116-26; idem. 'Samuel, Numbers, and the Yahwist-Question,' in Jan Christian Gertz, Konrad Schmid and Markus Witte (eds), *Abschied vom Jahwisten*, 233-46; de Pury, A., Thomas Römer and Jean-Daniel Macchi (eds), *Israel Constructs Its History: Deuteronomistic Historiography in Recent Research* (Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

6.3.2. Literary Critical Analysis of Josh 3-4 Based on the Retroversion of the LXX *Vorlage*

6.3.2.1. Departure from Shittim (3:1)

3¹ וישכם יהושע בבקר ויסע מהשטים ויבאו עד־הירדן וילנו שם טרם יעברו:

[3:1] As observed in the textual study, the syntax of this verse is somewhat clumsy. The change of the subject from third person singular into plural makes one suspect the identity of this material from the beginning. Some may object that the change of number from singular into plural is quite usual in Old Testament Hebrew, when the sentence is begun by third person singular verb. However, it is not clear who the subject of the plural form of וילנו is in this verse.

V 1 is held by many to interrupt the context of crossing the Jordan related with the Conquest War, which continues from chapter 1 to 3:2-3.⁵⁰ The lodging of one night after three days of spying in ch. 2 cuts off the stream of time (“three days”) from 1:11 to 3:2.

The first scribe of B also treated this verse as a separate paragraph, this coming after one of the longest paragraphs.⁵¹ This verse seems to be one of final editors’ insertions to mark ‘the beginning of the long-awaited realisation of the divine promise’⁵² and to emphasise the leadership role of Joshua. This redactional layer will be called ‘d’ for the moment.

⁵⁰ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 44; J. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 325.

⁵¹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 102.

⁵² A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 102.

The phrase ‘And Joshua rose at morning’⁵³ (וישכם יהושע בבקר) is a stereotypical formula⁵⁴ and also appears in 7:16; 8:10 in the book of Joshua.⁵⁵ The verb (וישכם) is used in similar ark stories (1 Sam 5:3, 4; Josh 6:12; 15) as waw consecutive imperfect form.

The pattern, ויסע---וילנו, in v 1 is similar to the itinerary concern of the so-called P in the Pentateuch.⁵⁶ A similar expression appears several times from Exodus to Numbers, especially in the texts between Israel’s departure from Egypt and its arrival in the Moabite wilderness; Exod 12:37 (ויסעו); 13:20 (ויסעו---ויחננו); 14:2 (ויחננו); 15:22 (ויסעו); 16:1 (ויסעו); 17:1 (ויסעו---ויחננו); 19:2 (ויסעו---ויחננו); Num 10:12 (ויסעו); 20:22 (ויסעו); 21:10-13 (ויסעו---ויחננו); 22:1 (ויסעו---ויחננו). However, nowhere in these texts does וילנו appear, as in Josh 3:1. The root לין also appears in 4:3; 6:11; 8:9; 9:18 in the book of Joshua. It is difficult to explain the relationship between the expressions of Exodus and Numbers and that of Josh 3:1. Thus, it appears to be a little dangerous to say that this instance is the same as the itinerary concern in the Pentateuch.

The geographical designation ‘*Shittim*’ (see also 2:1) is ‘identified with tell el-khammān, or tell el kefrēn, both of which are approximately 11-12 km east of the Jordan and 1-2 km apart. שטים means “acacias”⁵⁷ and actually the ark is made of שטים (acacias) in Exod 25:10.⁵⁸ It is quite interesting that the place name, שטים, appears in a text where the ark is mentioned.⁵⁹

⁵³ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 102. However, Boling maintains that השכם does not mean simply “to rise”, but “to act persistently, diligently”. For this, see R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 158.

⁵⁴ V. Fritz, *Das Buch Josua*, 46; A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 102.

⁵⁵ M.H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua* (NICOT, Eerdmans, 1981), 79.

⁵⁶ G.W. Coats, ‘The Wilderness Itinerary,’ *CBQ* 34 (1972): 135-152. F.M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 308.

⁵⁷ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 40.

⁵⁸ In Exod 25:5, 10, 13, 23, 28; 26:15, 26, 32, 37; 27:1, 6; 30:1, 5; 35:7, 24; 36:20, 31, 36; 37:1, 4, 10, 15, 25; 38:1, 6; Deut 10:3; Isa 41:19. In these it is used as *Shittim* tree, as well.

⁵⁹ In Num 25:1; 33:49; Josh 2:1; Joel 3:18(4:18); it is used as place name, as well, in Mic 6:5.

6.3.2.2. Preparation for crossing the Jordan (3:2-4)

3² ויהי מקצה שלשת ימים ויעברו השטרים בקרב המחנה:
3³ ויצו את־העם לאמר כראותכם את ארון ברית־יהוה אלהינו
וכהנינו וחללים נשאים אתו תסעו ממקומכם והלכתם אחריו
3⁴ אך רחוק יהיה בינינו ובינו כאלפים אמה תעמדו אל־תקרבו אליו
למען אשר־תרעו את־הדרך אשר תלכו־בה כי לא עברתם בדרך מתמול שלשום:

[2-4] This section is connected to Joshua's command given to 'the officers' of the people to 'pass through the camp', and to order the people to prepare provisions, referring to passing over the Jordan and entrance into the Land within 'three days' in 1:10-11. The term 'three days', of course, emerges in 2:16, 22 as well, and Van Seters holds that chapter 2 is of a different material from the Conquest story, which continues from chapter 1 to chapter 6, because the conquest story of Jericho in chapter 6 does not use any information from the spy story in chapter 2.⁶⁰ However, Rahab and her household's survival story in the community of Israel in both Joshua 2 and 6 are quite closely connected and it seems hardly possible to read Rahab's story in the two chapters as being different stories.

In v 3, we meet the ark for the first time. There has been no indication of it in previous chapters.⁶¹ From this point, the ark, the symbol of Yahweh's presence, dominates the whole account related to the crossing of the Jordan (3:4, 6, 8, 11, 13-14, 17; 4:7, 9, 11, 16, 18). Accordingly, Yahweh also enters the Promised Land with his people, carrying the ark.⁶²

Some scholars maintain that the materials related to the ark were inserted

⁶⁰ J. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 325.

⁶¹ R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 159.

⁶² M.H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua*, 79-80.

later.⁶³ However, as we have seen in Chapter Four, some others considered that the ark texts in the Pentateuch reflect those in the Former Prophets,⁶⁴ and our analysis of the texts of the transportation of the ark supports the reading of Josh 3-4 in the context of the ark narratives backwards,⁶⁵ and that those verses related with the ark in Josh 3-4 are the basic layer of this narrative.

According to Exodus (25-31; 35-40), the ark first had its advent in connection with the tabernacle. Then, it led Israel into wilderness journeys and wars (Num 10:33-36; 14:44).⁶⁶ Deuteronomy describes the ark as the sacred container of two tablets (10:1-5), beside which the Deuteronomic law would be laid (31:26).

The many titles of the ark in Josh 3-4 represent a sample of the many titles given to the ark throughout the Hebrew Scripture, which is at its most varied and developed in the Former Prophets. ארון ברית-יהוה אלהים in this verse is one of the variations of the basic epithet (ארון ברית-יהוה) used in these ark transportation stories in the Old Testament. ארון ברית-יהוה is used in Deut 10:8; 31:9, 25, 26; Josh 3:3; 4:7, 18; 6:8; 8:33; 1 Sam 4:3, 4, 5; 1 Kgs 6:19; 8:1, 6; 1 Chron 15:25, 26, 28, 29; 16:37; 17:1; 22:19; 28:18; 2 Chron 5:2, 7; Jer 3:16) in the entire Hebrew Bible. Of these, 1 Kgs 8:1//2 Chron 5:2, 1 Kgs 8:6//2 Chron 5:7 are synoptic (BTH). Exceptionally, only in Num 10:33; 14:44 in the Pentateuch except Deuteronomy, does this expression appear, it seemingly being influenced by the epithet in the Synoptic texts of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, as we have seen in Chapter Four. The similar expression of וכהנינו והלויים is

⁶³ For this, see G.H. Davies, 'The Ark of the Covenant,' *ASTI* 5 (1967), 30-47; J. Morgenstern, 'The Ark, the Ephod and the "Tent of meeting,"' *HUCA* 17 (1942-43), 153-266; G. von Rad, 'The Tent and the Ark,' *The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 103-24. Cf. V. Fritz also regarded almost all the ark materials in this narrative as later insertions: 4:7 (part of second joint piece); 3:11, 13, 14b, 17; 4:9 (RedD); 4:15-17 (post-priestly insertion); 3:4, 6, 8; 4: 11b (later redactional insertion). For him, only 4:18 among the ark materials in this Jordan crossing story belongs to the basic layer. For this, see V. Fritz, *Das Buch Josua*, 46-56.

⁶⁴ L. Rost, *The Succession to the Throne of David*, 6-34; von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy*, 127; A.F. Campbell, *The Ark Narrative*, 221.

⁶⁵ For Auld as well, 1 Kgs 8 underlies Josh 3-4. For this, see A.G. Auld, *Samuel at the Threshold*, 193.

⁶⁶ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 44-5.

found also in LXX Josh 9:6 (for this, see text critical analysis in Chapter Three).⁶⁷ If we look closely into the grammar of this verse in the MT, 'the Levitical priests bearing the ark', we see that it stresses the ark, and the priests are in a secondary position.⁶⁸ Verses 2-3 belong to the basic layer (a) which is influenced by those synoptic texts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (BTH), and related to the Conquest story, which continues from chapter 1.⁶⁹

וְאֵךְ in v 4 appears only once in this book. Gibson insists that the conjunction וְאֵךְ is used in exclusive syntax.⁷⁰ Nelson holds that '[t]he disjunctive and emphatic syntax of v 4a interrupts the connection between v 3 and the rest of v 4 and introduces an extraneous (probably Priestly) concern about the ark's perilous holiness.'⁷¹ The similar conjunction וְכֵן was used as an interpolation mark in Josh 13:14.⁷² However, no one could say that וְאֵךְ and וְכֵן are always used in the same way. In addition, וְכֵן in Josh 13:14 was used in narrative, but וְאֵךְ in this verse was used in speech. In this verse, we see that the narrators indicate the ark, which appeared in v 3, as the third person singular pronominal suffix 'it' (אֵלָיו, וְכֵן). This part is a continuation of the speech by the officers, which emphasises the distance between the ark and the people. The demand for a respectful distance seems to recall the incident of Uzzah in 2 Sam 6:1-11//1 Chron 13:5-14 (BTH). The similar expression of מִתּוֹמֹל שְׁלֹשִׁים in v 4 also appears in the similar story of the ark being carried to the battle camp to lead the people in 1 Sam 4:8 (אֲחִמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹשִׁים). V 4 is also connected with basic layer (vv 2-3), which is influenced by the synoptic ark

⁶⁷ הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם in LXX Josh 9:6 [8:33] and הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם in MT Josh 8:33.

⁶⁸ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 45.

⁶⁹ J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, 60.

⁷⁰ J.C.L. Gibson, *Davidson's Introductory Hebrew Grammar Syntax* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 175-6.

⁷¹ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 60. Gray also argues that the reference to the exact distance of two thousand cubits from the ark, found similarly in Num 35:5 (P), in which the gap of the boundaries between Levitical lands and the actual settlements is underscored, seems to be a P addition. J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, 60.

⁷² A.G. Auld, *Joshua Retold*, 21.

texts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

6.3.2.3. Instructions from Joshua (3:5-6)

⁵ ויאמר יהושע אל־העם התקדשו למחר כי מחר יעשה יהוה בקרבכם נפלאות
⁶ ויאמר יהושע אל־הכהנים שאו את־ארון ברית יהוה ועברו לפני העם וישאו הכהנים את־ארון ברית יהוה
וילכו לפני העם:

[5-6] Although the demand ‘sanctify yourselves’ represents cultic tradition,⁷³ holiness was also a requirement in the ideology of divine war (Deut 23:15 [14E]; 1 Sam 21:5).⁷⁴ מחר (tomorrow) seems to be part of a routine formula of sanctification (7:13; Num 11:18).⁷⁵ Even though Van Seters argues that 3:5 is a P addition of cultic tradition, I do not find any good reason to separate this verse, which has התקדשו, from v 6, which has הכהנים, when we read B, which marks 3:5-6 as a paragraph.⁷⁶ (י)התקדשו occurs in 1 Chron 15:12, 14; 2 Chron 5:11 and נפלאות also in 1 Chron 16:9, 12, 24, all of which belong to similar ark-moving stories. As we have seen in Chapter Four, those three terms (העם, ארון ברית יהוה, שאו) in v 6 are synoptic expressions, which are employed in almost all the ark-moving stories in the Former Prophets and Chronicles. These verses are a continuation of basic layer (a) which is influenced by the shared materials in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles.

6.3.2.4. Yahweh addresses Joshua and Joshua prepares his people (3:7-11)

⁷ ויאמר יהוה אל־יהושע היום הזה אהל גדלך בעיני כל־בני ישראל אשר ידעון כאשר הייתי עִם־מֹשֶׁה
כן אהיה גם עִמָּךְ:
⁸ ועתה חצוה את־הכהנים נשאי ארון־הברית לאמר כבאכם עִרְקָצָה מִי הַיַּרְדֵּן וּבִירְדֵן תַּעֲמֹדוּ:
⁹ ויאמר יהושע אל־בני ישראל נשו הנָה ושמעו את־דְּבַר יהוה אלהינו:

⁷³ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 47-8.

⁷⁴ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 61.

⁷⁵ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 61.

⁷⁶ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 104.

3¹⁰ בִּזְאת תִּדְעוּן כִּי אֵל הוּא בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְהוֹרֵשׁ יִירֵשׁ מִפְּנֵינוּ אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְאֶת־הַחִתִּי וְאֶת־הַפְּרִזִּי וְאֶת־הַחֹזִי
וְאֶת־הָאֹמִרִי וְאֶת־הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי וְאֶת־הַיְּבוּסִי:
3¹¹ הִנֵּה אֲרוֹן בְּרִית אֲדֹנָי כָּל־הָאָרֶץ עֹבֵר בִּירְדֵּן:

[7-11] In sequence, Yahweh's exaltation of Joshua continues (v 7), which is linked with 1:5, 17-18 and 4:14. The syntax of v 8 is disjunctive, but appears to be a pause for further detail. V 8 is connected with v 7, which emphasises the leadership role of Joshua (ועתה תצוה, 'and now you shall command') and the flow of the content from the exaltation in v 7 to the story of the conquest of the land in vv 9-10 continues through v 8. Vv 7-8 also use the basic expressions in the ark transportation narratives in the Former Prophets and Chronicles (נשאי, כל-בני ישראל) and the variation, ארון-הברית, of the basic expression, ארון-ברית יהוה. This is the section in which Joshua delivers Yahweh's word (דבר יהוה) to his people, which ends in v 13.⁷⁷ If we look at the LXX and the Vulgate, we see that the 'Word' (see text critical study) in v 9 is emphasised, which is typical of Deuteronomy.⁷⁸ As mentioned before, the meaning of בִּזְאת ('by this') is ambiguous. However, in this narrative we can see that the basic layer (a) understands the event of 'crossing the Jordan' in connection with that of 'the Conquest war'. Therefore, we can understand this section as God's promise that Israel will learn the fact that 'the conquest of the promised land' in v 10b will come true through 'the wonder of crossing the Jordan' in 11ff. This could be more easily explained, if we think that הִנֵּה (behold) in v 11 leads the apodosis. A similar example appears in Exod 7:17 (כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה בִּזְאת תִּדְעוּ כִּי אֲנִי (יהוה הִנֵּה אֲנִי מֵכָה בַּמָּטָה אֲשֶׁר־בְּיָדִי עַל־הַמִּיִּם אֲשֶׁר בַּיָּאֵר וְנִהְפְּכוּ לָדָם: in which the authority of Yahweh is also emphasised. Therefore, we can say בִּזְאת refers to the event of crossing the Jordan in v 11ff.

אל חי בקרבכם (living God is among you) is an expression which confirms the

⁷⁷ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 39.

⁷⁸ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 57.

fulfilment of the promise. The title ‘living God’ (אל חי) in v 10 has a confessional ring to it and is also used in 1 Sam 17:26; Ps 42:3, 9 [2, 8E]; 84:3 [2E]; Hos 2:1 [1:10E, יהוה חי]).⁷⁹ According to Soggin, it is used to represent God, who controls ‘nature’ and ‘history,’ in contrast with the gods of Canaan who died and rose again periodically in a seasonal cycle. The expression ‘the living God’ linked with the emphatic verb form “he will surely drive out” (והורש יורש) shows that the promise will be realised without fail.⁸⁰

The list of indigenous inhabitants here is in a standard form, which contains seven names (Gen 15:19; Exod 3:8, 17; Deut 7:1; 20:17; etc.).⁸¹ However, in Josh 9:1 only six names are present – the Gergashites are omitted. These short lists also appear in Exod 12:8; 13:5; 23:23; 24:11; 33:2; 34:11; Josh 11:3; Judg 3:5; 1 Kgs 9:20.⁸² These lists of aboriginal people in the Pentateuch seem to be influenced by those in the conquests and settlement stories in the Former Prophets. ‘The Canaanite’ is often used as a collective noun for all inhabitants of the Canaan,⁸³ but here it means the people living ‘by the sea’ (5:1; Num 13:29; cf. 11:3).⁸⁴ The Greeks called ‘the Canaanites’ as ‘Phoenicians’ normally, a name related to the purple dye produced from the murex shellfish and exported to all parts of the Mediterranean.⁸⁵ In 5:1 as well, LXX reads ‘the Canaanite’ as Φοινίκες. However, here in 3:10, LXX shows variety, reading ‘the Canaanite’ as το Χαναναϊον’.

Regarding the title *The Lord of all the earth* (in v 11 with v 13), some scholars have suggested a non-Israelite origin.⁸⁶ However, it is not easy to decide whether this is to be understood narrowly as suzerain of the land of Canaan or universally as ruler of the

⁷⁹ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 61.

⁸⁰ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 58.

⁸¹ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 58.

⁸² V. Fritz, *Das Buch Josua*, 50.

⁸³ V. Fritz, *Das Buch Josua*, 50.

⁸⁴ M.H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua*, 84.

⁸⁵ R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 165.

⁸⁶ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 61. For this, see F. Langlamet, *Gilgal et les récits de la traversée du Jourdain*, 112-15.

entire earth. On the one hand, it could be interpreted as the land of Canaan, as in Deut 11:25; 19:8; Josh 6:27; 10:40; 11:16, 23. On the other hand, it could contain the universal meaning earth, as in Deut 10:14; Josh 2:11. The latter meaning occurs also in Ps 97:5; Mic 4:13; Zech 4:14; 6:5. As Nelson contends, either meaning could make the same point: the God who is crossing the Jordan with Israel has both the power and the right to endow them with the land.⁸⁷

6.3.2.5. Choose twelve men (3:12)

3:12 קחו לכם שני עשר איש מבני ישראל איש־אחד לשבט:

[12] Nelson maintains that this isolated command creates suspense and anticipates more story than the miraculous crossing.⁸⁸ The sudden appearance of the command to take twelve men from the tribes of Israel makes the flow of the passage a bit awkward.⁸⁹ This verse is later redactional 'Zusatz, der mit 4,1-8 eine geschlossen Einheit darstellt, durch eine Bemerkung über die Auswahl der Träger vorzubereiten'.⁹⁰ However, if we compare 3:12 and 4:2, we can see that 3:12 is a different layer from 4:1-8.

3:12 קחו לכם שני עשר איש מבני ישראל איש־אחד לשבט:

4:2 קחו מן־העם אנשים איש־אחד משבט:

As we see above, 3:12 represents some more words (לכם, שני עשר) and seems later than 4:2. This verse (3:12) appears to be a redactional addition, which was inserted

⁸⁷ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 61.

⁸⁸ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 61.

⁸⁹ P.P. Saydon, 'The Crossing of the Jordan, Josue 3 and 4,' 199.

⁹⁰ V. Fritz, *Josua*, 55.

to this part by an editor, who knew the story of 4:1-8, to connect the contents of chapters three and four. This verse also belongs to 'd' layer. This insertion breaks the context between 3:11 and 13.⁹¹

6.3.2.6. Descent and Passing over on "dry ground" (3:13-17)

3¹³ והיה כנזח רגלי הכהנים נשאי ארון הברית ארון כל־הארץ במי הירדן מי הירדן יכרתון המים הירדים יעמדו :
 3¹⁴ ויסע העם מאהל־יהם לעבר את־הירדן והכהנים נשאי את־ארון הברית לפני העם:
 3¹⁵ וכבוא הכהנים נשאי ארון הברית עד־הירדן ורגלי הכהנים נשאי ארון ברית יהוה נשבלו בקצה מי הירדן והירדן מלא על־כל־גדותיו כימי קציר חטים:
 3¹⁶ ויעמדו המים הירדים מלמעלה קמו נד־אחד הרחק מאד מאד העיר אשר מצד קרית יערים והירד ירד על ים הערבה יס־המלה ער־תם נכרת והעם עמדו נגד יריחו:
 3¹⁷ ויעמדו הכהנים נשאי ארון ברית־יהוה בחרבה בתוך הירדן וכל־בני ישראל עברים בחרבה עד אשר־תמו כל־העם לעבר את־הירדן:

[13] The focus of interest in v 13 is also on the ark as in v 11. 'The Lord of all the earth' is modifying 'the ark'. The words, ארון הברית ארון כל־הארץ, נשא, connect this verse with the similar basic expression in the ark narratives of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. This part is a continuation of the basic 'a' layer. When the soles of the feet of the priests who bear the ark of the Lord of all the earth rest in the waters, the miracle that the Jordan is cut off shall happen. Thus, the prominence of the ark shall be revealed.⁹² We can find a chiasm between vv 13 and 16: 'cut off' and 'stand still', then 'stood still' and 'was cut off'.⁹³

[14-16] The statement that 'the people set out from their tents and the priests bearing the ark of the covenant were before the people' in v 14 is connected with the story in which the officers go through the camp and command the people that when they see the Levitical priests bearing the ark, they should set out from their place (vv 2-3).

⁹¹ V. Fritz, *Josua*, 55.

⁹² M.H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua*, 86.

⁹³ R.D. Nelson, *Josua*, 61.

And now, Joshua's address in vv 9-13 begins to be carried out. The concrete reference to the cutting off of the water in vv 15, 16 is linked with Joshua's prophecy in v 13 that 'when the feet of the priests rest in the waters, the waters of the Jordan shall stand'. The intention behind the addition of v 15b (והירדן מלא על-כל-גדותיו כימי קציר חטים) appears to have been to make the miracle dramatic.⁹⁴ קציר חטים is also used in the same ark story in 1 Sam 6:13. All of these verses are a continuation of 'a', which continues the story of the people's passing over opposite Jericho in v 16b. Some hold that 16aβ (מאד העיר אשר מצד קרית יערים) is a P insertion.⁹⁵ However, we cannot find any persuasive reason to separate this phrase from the other part of this verse. The reference of the geographical name is an attempt to describe the miracle more accurately, but it is not easy for us to come to any conclusion about the names of the places.⁹⁶ This part is the specific content of 'By this' in v 10, describing the miracle of the Jordan in detail. In these verses with v 13, complex Hebrew sentence structures go on to add tension as the climax of this event.⁹⁷ Judging from the explanation of Israel's crossing over opposite Jericho in v 16b, the 'a' layer connects this wonder with the conquest of Jericho rather than with anything else.⁹⁸

[17] V 17 shows the concern about priests standing in the middle of the Jordan and about Israel's passing over on 'dry ground' (בחרבה). This verse is connected to the report over the crossing in v 16. V 17 is a summary of two simultaneous actions, standing and crossing,⁹⁹ and explicates the event concretely in that the priests stood on

⁹⁴ J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, 62. However, we know that even during harvest time the waters of the Jordan cannot make passage impossible. See A.G. Auld, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, 23.

⁹⁵ Some scholars hold that this part, which is explanatory, is a P addition. For this, see B.S. Childs, 'Deuteronomistic Formulae of the Exodus Traditions,' *SVT* 16 (1967): 30-39; idem, 'A Traditio-Historical Character of the Reed Sea Tradition,' *VT* 20 (1970), 406-18; G.W. Coats, 'The Song of the Sea,' *CBQ* 31 (1969):1-17.

⁹⁶ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 48; A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 109-110.

⁹⁷ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 48.

⁹⁸ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 48.

⁹⁹ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 61.

'dry ground' and the people passed over on 'dry ground'. The Hebrew word for 'dry ground' (בחרבה) in this verse is different from that used in 4:20-24 (יבשה). As we have seen in Chapter Five, בחרבה is used in Exod 13:17-14:31, and 2 Kgs 2. This verse is also the continuation of basic 'a' layer. נשאי הארון ברית-יהוה, link this verse with the basic layer of this narrative.

6.3.2.7. Carrying twelve stones over to the brink of the Jordan (4:1-8)

- 4¹ ויהי כאשר-חמו כל-העם לעבור את-הירדן ויאמר יהוה אל-יהושע לאמר:
 4² קח לך אנשים מן-העם איש-אחד משבט:
 4³ צוה אותם ושאו מתוך הירדן הכין שתי-עשרה אבנים והעברתם אותם עמכם ואותם הנחתם אותם במלון אשר-תלינו בו הלילה:
 4⁴ ויקרא יהושע אל-שנים העשר איש אשר הכין מבני ישראל איש-אחד משבט:
 4⁵ ויאמר להם עברו לפני לפני יהוה אל-תוך הירדן והרימו משם איש אבן אחת לשאת על-שכמו למספר שנים עשר שבטי ישראל:
 4⁶ למען תהיה זאת אות בקרבכם תמיד כיישאלך בנך מחר לאמר מה האבנים האלה לכם:
 4⁷ ואתה אמרת לבנך לאמר אשר נכרת מי הירדן מפני ארון ברית-אדון כל-הארץ בעברו והיו האבנים האלה לזכרון לבני ישראל עד-עולם:
 4⁸ ויעשו-כן בני-ישראל כאשר צוה יהוה אל-יהושע וישאו שתי-עשרה אבנים מתוך הירדן כאשר דבר יהוה אל-יהושע בתם בני-ישראל לעבר ויעברום עמם אל-המלון וינחום שם:

[4:1-8] Two parallel stories of twelve stones at the brink of and in the middle of the Jordan dominate all of chapter 4.¹⁰⁰ This section is about the stones at the riverbank. V 1a sums up the event of crossing the Jordan and introduces a different story.¹⁰¹ V 1ff belongs to 'b' layer, which continues to v 8. This part emphasises the twelve stones being set up at the brink of the river for the twelve tribes. The number *twelve* occurs four times in these verses.¹⁰² However, the place named Gilgal is not referred to as yet, but only the expression 'where you lodge' (v 3). Thus, Soggin's attempt to connect this part with amphictyony and the Gilgal sanctuary seems to be somewhat rash.¹⁰³ The account

¹⁰⁰ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 64; V. Fritz, *Josua*, 45.

¹⁰¹ M.H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua*, 90; V. Fritz, *Josua*, 53; R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 68.

¹⁰² R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 172.

¹⁰³ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 65.

of stones being set up at Gilgal appears in v 20 for the first time. According to Auld, the narrative of the altar on the mountain Ebal in LXX-Josh 9:3-8 is later than the Greek Deut 27:5-6.¹⁰⁴ Not to speak of δευτερονόμιον in LXX-Josh 9:5, this narrative of Gerizim and Ebal seems to know (Greek) Deut 27. Ulrich holds that Joshua's first altar in the Promised Land was built immediately after Israel's crossing of the Jordan.¹⁰⁵ This is also attested to in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* V. 20, which links the building of the altar not to the commands given by God to Joshua during the crossing of the people, but to the instructions by Moses in Deuteronomy 27.¹⁰⁶ This story of the twelve stones set up at the brink of the Jordan seems to reflect Moses' order in Deut 27:1-6. The verbal form "he had appointed" (הכין) in v 4 is not easy to understand (see text critical analysis). Joshua calls the twelve men appointed already and transmits the divine command in vv 4-5.

Vv 6-7 are composed of the form of question and answer between parents and children, in which parents teach their children the meaning of Yahweh's presence in Israel's history.

A similar expression to Josh 4:6-7 also appears in Deut 6:20-21.

Deut 6:20 כי ישאלך בנך מחר לאמר מה העדת והחקים והמשפטים אשר צוה יהוה אלהינו אתכם

Deut 6:21 ואמרת לבנך עבדים היינו לפרעה במצרים ויוציאנו יהוה ממצרים ביד חזקה

The retroversion of the LXX *Vorlage* in Josh 4:6-7, which has the singular form of בנך, has more similarity with Deut 6:20-21 than the MT. The structure of each verse in both Josh 4:6-7 and Deut 6:20-21 is almost identical. However, Josh 4:6-7 has a much longer and developed form: Josh 4:6 has the additional phrase למען תהיה זאת אות בקרבכם תמיד

¹⁰⁴ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 152.

¹⁰⁵ E. Ulrich, 4QJosh^a, in E. Ulrich, F.M. Cross, S.W. Crawford, J.A. Duncan, P.W. Skehan, E. Tov, J. Trebolle Barrera (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.IX. Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*. (DJD 14) Oxford 1995, 145-46.

¹⁰⁶ For this, see M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 489.

before *כי ישאל*, while in Deut 6:20 the verse starts with only *כי ישאלך*. Deut 6:21 tells only *what* parents should tell their son; Josh 4:7 also tells *why*, with the additional phrase *והיו האבנים האלה לזכרון לבני ישראל ער-עולם*. Thus, Josh 4:6-7 seem to be later than and influenced by Deut 6:20.

However, a similar non-Priestly text in Exod 13:8-10 appears to be influenced by the expression in Josh 4:6-7.¹⁰⁷

Exod 13:8 והגדת לבנך ביום ההוא לאמר בעבור זה עשה יהוה לי

בצאתי ממצרים:

Exod 13:9 והיה לך לאות על-ידך ולזכרון בין עיניך למען תהיה

תורת יהוה בפך כי ביד חזקה הוצאך יהוה ממצרים:

Exod 13:10 ושמרת את-החקה הזאת למועדה מימים ימימה: ס

Even though in Josh 4:6-7 twelve memorial stones are a sign, in Exod 13:8-9 the ritual serves as a sign for their hand, as a reminder for their forehead, so that *תורת יהוה* may be on their lips. Exod 13:8-9 shows a more concretised and developed ritual form. Furthermore, *החקה* in Exod 13:10 shows the more firmly established ritual, which is mainly used in the book of Leviticus (3:17; 7:36; 10:9; 16:29, 31, 34; 17:7; 18:3, 4, 5, 26, 30; 19:19, 37; 20:8, 22, 23; 23:14, 21, 31, 41; 24:3; 25:18; 26:3, 15, 43). Thus, we could surmise that this non-Priestly text is later than Josh 4:6-7.

How about similar Priestly texts in Exod 12:26-27 and 13:14-15?

Exod 12:26 והיה כייאמרו אליכם בניכם מה העבדה הזאת לכם:

Exod 12:27 ואמרתם זבח-פסח הוא ליהוה אשר פסח על-בתי

בני-ישראל במצרים בנגפו את-מצרים ואת-בתינו הציל

ויקד העם וישתחוו:

¹⁰⁷ For this, see J.C. Gertz, Konrad Schmid and Markus Witte (eds), *Abschied vom Jahwisten*.

Exod 13:14 והיה כִּי־שאלך בֶּןְךָ מָחָר לֵאמֹר מַה־זֶּאת וְאָמַרְתָּ אֵלָיו

בְּחֹזֶק יָד הוֹצִיאָנוּ יְהוָה מִמִּצְרַיִם מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים:

Exod 13:15 וְהָיָה כִּי־הִקְשָׁה פִּרְעֹה לְשַׁלְּחָנוּ וַיְהִרְגֵנּוּ יְהוָה כָּל־בְּכוֹר

בָּאָרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִבְּכֹר אָדָם וְעַד־בְּכוֹר בַּהֲמָה עַל־כֵּן אֲנִי זֹבֵחַ

לַיהוָה כָּל־פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם הַזֵּכָרִים וְכָל־בְּכוֹר בְּנֵי אִפְדָּה:

The words 'service' (העברה), and 'sacrifice of passover' (זבח־פסח) in Exod 12:26 and 'sacrifice' (זבח) of 'first-born' (בכור) in Exod 12:27 are more ritualised and are later expressions than that of Josh 4:6-7. Furthermore, בְּחֹזֶק יָד הוֹצִיאָנוּ יְהוָה ('by strength of hand Yahweh brought us out') in Exod 13:14 seems to read a similar expression לַיהוָה כָּל־פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם הַזֵּכָרִים וְכָל־בְּכוֹר בְּנֵי אִפְדָּה in Josh 4:24. Thus, this Priestly text shows the most developed aspects among these texts.

Therefore, we can guess that this form of question and answer has developed in the order of Deut 6:20-21>>Josh 4:6-7>>non-Priestly Exod 13:8-10>> Priestly texts in Exod 12:26-27; 13:14-15.

We can also find similar expressions, which stress 'sign' (אֹת) and 'eternal memorial' (לִזְכוֹן עַד־עוֹלָם) that also appear in Priestly covenant texts of Genesis and Exodus in the Pentateuch. In Noah's covenant (Gen 9:8-17), 'the rainbow' (הַקֶּשֶׁת) is emphasised as 'a sign' (אֹת) of 'everlasting covenant' (בְּרִית עוֹלָם) 'to remember' (לִזְכוֹר) between God and every living creature. In Abraham's covenant (Gen 17:1-21), 'the circumcision' (הַמּוֹלָה) and 'Isaac' (יִצְחָק) are underscored as 'a sign' (אֹת) of everlasting covenant (בְּרִית עוֹלָם) between God and his people. In the Sinai covenant (Exod 31:12-17), 'the sabbath' (הַשַּׁבָּת) is also pointed up as 'an eternal sign' (אֹת לְעוֹלָם) of perpetual

covenant (ברית עולם) to keep (לשמר). It is not easy for us to come to any conclusion about the relationship among these. However, we could say that the stones as a sign of covenant in Josh 4:6-7 are the more concrete expression and that 'the rainbow', 'the circumcision', and 'the sabbath' in the Pentateuch are the more religious, abstract, and spiritually - developed concept. Furthermore, it is quite interesting that in those 'covenant' texts in the book of Genesis the niphal form of ברך was used as in Josh 4:7, but in quite another sense, the cutting off all flesh by the waters of a flood in Gen 9:11 and any uncircumcised male from his people in Gen 17:14. Here again, the expression מי הירדן in Josh 4:7 is more concrete, and the word הברית and the cutting off all flesh by the waters of a flood and any uncircumcised male from his people in Gen 17:14 are more religiously developed concepts. It might be possible to say that Josh 4:6-7 is earlier than those covenant texts in the book of Genesis.

Thus, rather than viewing vv 6-7 as a later insertion, it would be safer to say that this purposive clause, led by למען, which corresponds to the Greek *μεα*, is the continuation of Joshua's speech, begun in v 5. Therefore, it would be relevant to think that this verse depends on vv 1-5 (b), which seems to be influenced by Deuteronomy. This also appears to be in accord with this writer's intention to read each stratum as far as he can without discontinuation. And then, the people of Israel take twelve stones from the middle of the river and carry them over to the place where they lodge and lay them down as Joshua ordered in v 8(b). Here we can suggest that Josh 4:1-8 is later than the similar story in Deuteronomy, but earlier than those in Genesis and Exodus.

6.3.2.8. Erecting memorial stones in the middle of the Jordan (4:9)

4⁹ ושחים עשרה אבנים אחרים הקים יהושע בו בירדן תחת מצב רגלי הכהנים נשאי

[9] The sudden appearance of the account that Joshua set up twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan seems to make a clumsy connection with v 8. As we have seen in Chapter Three, it does not seem probable that the original story featured two different sets of twelve stones. The words, שְׁתֵּים עָשָׂרָה אֲבָנִים אֲחֵרִים (twelve other stones) make this verse stand out clearly and seems to show that it is divided from 4:1-8. This verse belongs to 'c' layer, which knows 4:1-8 (b).

6.3.2.9. The Priests standing in the middle of the Jordan (4:10a)

4^{10a} וְהַכֹּהֲנִים נִשְׂאִי אֲרֹן הַבְּרִית עֲמְדוּ בִּירְדֵּן עַד אֲשֶׁר כָּלָה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה לִדְבַר אֱלֹהֵם

[10a] In this part, the priests who bore the ark were standing in the middle of the Jordan until the command of Yahweh to set up twelve stones at the brink of the Jordan, given Joshua in 4:1b was completed, this being a continuation of 'b'. The Hebrew phrase וְהַכֹּהֲנִים נִשְׂאִי אֲרֹן הַבְּרִית עֲמְדוּ בִּירְדֵּן in this verse is similar to וַיַּעֲמְדוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים נִשְׂאִי הָאֲרֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה בַּחֲרֵבָה בְּתוֹךְ הַיַּרְדֵּן in 3:17, but is slightly different. As we have seen above, 3:17 ('a' layer) is earlier than this.

6.3.2.10. Peoples' passing over in haste (4:10b-11a)

4^{10b} וַיַּמְהֵר הָעָם וַיַּעֲבְרוּ:
4^{11a} וַיְהִי כֹאשְׁרֵיהֶם כָּל־הָעָם לַעֲבוֹר

[10b-11a] 10b ('The people passed over in haste.') again makes the sequence of the story harsh, because in v 1a, the people had already completed passing over the Jordan. This verse appears to be linked with the account that 'the people passed over opposite Jericho' (3:16b), which belongs to 'a'. V 11a is also the continuation of 'a'

layer.¹⁰⁸

6.3.2.11. The crossing over of the ark and the stones (4:11b)

4^{11b} ויעבר ארון ברייתיהוה והאבנים לפניהם:

[11b] Once again, a different story appears. In v 11a the people finished crossing the Jordan, but in v 11b the ark is crossing and והאבנים (οἱ λίθοι) are before the people. The MT has והכהנים instead of והאבנים (οἱ λίθοι) in the LXX *Vorlage*. However, instructions to the priests are given in v 17. This verse requires something more to be understood properly.¹⁰⁹ Cooke tries to settle this problem by translating לפני (before) into 'in the presence of'. However, when לפני is used with 'verbs of motion', it means 'before, at the head of', not 'in the presence of'.¹¹⁰ As we have seen in Chapter Three, this is MT's adjustment והכהנים to והאבנים, recollecting the command to the priests in 3:6 too literally.¹¹¹ The complexity of this verse is also related to the cohesion of materials. 11b is connected with 10a ('b' layer). This is the sequence of the story in which the ark and the stones, which had been taken from the middle of the Jordan by the command of Yahweh (10a), passed over the Jordan for the completion of the task (11b).

6.3.2.12. Eastern tribes crossing the Jordan (4:12-13)

4¹² ויעברו בני־ראובן ובני־גד וחצי שבט המנשה חמשים לפני בני ישראל כאשר דבר אליהם משה:
4¹³ ארבעים אלף חלוצי הצבא עברו לפני יהוה למלחמה אל עיר יריחו: ס

[12-13] The special reference to the sons of Reuben, of Gad and of the half tribe of Manasseh seems to emphasise that all the tribes took part in the passing over and the

¹⁰⁸ J. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 325-326.

¹⁰⁹ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 63.

¹¹⁰ Saydon, P.P. 'The Crossing of the Jordan, Josue 3 and 4,' *CBQ* 12 (1950), 204.

¹¹¹ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 116.

Conquest war. This is a flashback report of what Moses commanded in Deut 3:18 and which Joshua reiterated (Josh 1:12ff).¹¹² חמשים (v 13) occurs in Josh 1:14; 4:12; MT - Exod 13:18. The content of v 13 repeats that of v 12, but the vocabulary is different. 'Armed' (חלוצי), 'for battle' (למלחמה) (v 13) also shows the interest in the war, which connects this event with the conquest of the land. חלוצי appears in Deut 3:18, which also connects this part to the eastern tribes in Deuteronomy.¹¹³ This section (vv 12-13) belongs to 'b' layer, which is influenced by the book of Deuteronomy.

6.3.2.13. The exaltation of Joshua (4:14)

4¹⁴ ביום ההוא גדל יהוה את־יהושע בעיני כל־עם ישראל ויראו אתו כאשר יראו את־משה כל־ימי חייו:

The exaltation of Joshua as a leader like Moses then follows. The basic 'a' layer regards the completion of the passing over as the accomplishment of Yahweh's promise of the exaltation of Joshua. Here, the promise, the exaltation of Moses' successor, is realised, as given in 3:7, and in 1:16-18.

6.3.2.14. The Ark of the Covenant of the Testimony of Yahweh (4:15-16)

4¹⁵ ויאמר יהוה אל־יהושע לאמר:

4¹⁶ צוה את־הכהנים נשאי ארון ברית יהוה ויעלו מן־הירדן:

[15-16] Unlike the conclusion of 'b' (vv 12-14), the ark and the priests are stressed. Different material ('e') continues. 'The ark of the covenant of the testimony of Yahweh' (ארון ברית עדות יהוה) in v 16 is an extraordinary epithet. The MT's simpler ארון העדות appears to be the older text. B's complexity may have been caused by the later

¹¹² J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 65; R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 70.

¹¹³ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 70; For the use of this word (חלוצי), see also D.U. Rottzoll, *Abraham Ibn Esras Langer Kommentar zum Buch Exodus 1*, 373-4.

inclusion within the text to explain that ‘the ark of the testimony’ was none other than ‘the ark of the covenant of Yahweh’.¹¹⁴ ארון העדות is used mostly in Exodus but twice also in Numbers.¹¹⁵ (Exod 25:16, 21; cf. 25:22; 26:33,34; 30:6, 26; 31:7; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 21; Num 4:5; 7:89).¹¹⁶ As we have seen in Chapter Four, vv 15-16 is a later insertion to connect this part with Exodus and belongs to final layer of this narrative (‘e’).

6.3.2.15. Ascent and arrival at Gilgal (4:17-19)

4¹⁷ ויצו יהושע את־הכהנים לאמר עלו מן־הירדן:
 4¹⁸ ויהי בעלות הכהנים נשאי ארון ברית יִהְיֶה מן־הירדן ויחנו רגליהם על החרבה
 וישבו מִי־הירדן למקומם וילכו כתמול־ששום על־כַּל־גִּדְוָחִיו:
 4¹⁹ והעם עלו מן־הירדן בעשור לחדש הראשון ויחנו בני־ישראל בגלגל בקצה מזרח יריחו:

[17-19] Joshua commands the priests to ‘come up out of the Jordan’. The same word as ‘the dry ground’ (החרבה) appears in 3:17, but is different from יבשה in 4:20-24. The similar expression of ‘the priests’ feet were separated unto the dry ground’ (נחקו רגלי הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶל הַחֲרֵבָה) in v 18 is also used in 3:15a (‘a’ layer). The expressions in this part (ארון ברית־יהוה, נשאי) are connected with the basic layer (‘a’) of this narrative and those expressions in similar ark stories. The water stopped in 3:16 ‘returns’ (שוב) to its place here in 4:18. This section (vv 17-19) belongs to the basic ‘a’ layer. Soggin holds that the 10th of Nisan was an important day of spring feast in Gilgal, when a celebration of the Exodus was held as a present reality.¹¹⁷ However, the attempt to link this text with the feast in Gilgal in relation to 5:9-12 is a little problematic. The phrase ‘the sons of Israel camped in Gilgal (ויחנו בני־ישראל בגלגל)’ in 5:10 is a MT plus. מִמַּחֲרַת הַפֶּסַח in v 11 is also a MT plus. Auld holds that ‘[t]his text was economically altered through two neat

¹¹⁴ A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 118.

¹¹⁵ C.L.Seow, ‘Ark of the Covenant,’ *ABD I*, 387 T.C.Butler, *Joshua*, 50.

¹¹⁶ T.C.Butler, *Joshua*, 45.

¹¹⁷ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua, OTL*, 66.

additions to correspond to the 'Priestly' calendar of passover in Lev 23:5-6, where passover belongs to the fifteenth day of the month. [It] has a strengthening function to underline that it was on the *following* day that unleavened bread was eaten.¹¹⁸ Thus, it appears to be somewhat hasty to connect Israel's arrival at Gilgal after crossing the Jordan with the feast in Gilgal, as some scholars have tried to do. Rather, this part might be the basic layer that connects the Jordan miracle with the place name 'Gilgal'. In 9:6; 10:6-7; 14:6, Gilgal plays an important role as the headquarters for Israel.¹¹⁹

6.3.2.16. Stones at Gilgal and the confession (4:20-24)

4²⁰ ואת שנים עשרה האבנים האלה אשר לקח מן-הירדן הקים יהושע בגלגל:
 4²¹ לאמר אשר ישאלון בניכם אליכם לאמר מה האבנים האלה:
 4²² והודעתם את-בניכם כי ביבשה עבר ישראל את-הירדן
 4²³ אשר-הוביש יהוה אלהינו את-מי הירדן מפניהם עד-עברו כאשר עשה יהוה אלהינו ליס-סוף
 אשר-הוביש יהוה אלהינו מפנינו עד-עברנו:
 4²⁴ למען דעת כל-עמי הארץ את-יד יהוה כי חזקה היא למען יראתם אתם את-יהוה אלהינו בכל-מעשה:

[4:20-24] Now the theme returns to the story of the twelve stones at Gilgal.¹²⁰ The cultic teaching form is repeated. The vocabulary and style are quite different from those in the basic and second layer, but similar to that of Rahab's confession in 2:10 related to the Reed Sea event. There is no more interest in the ark and the cutting off of the water in this section. The liturgical teaching about the appearance of the dry ground makes this event more dramatic, and then the confession follows.¹²¹

As we have seen in 6.2.2., the OG *Vorlage* has לקח instead of לקחו in the MT, stressing the leading role of Joshua, although the twelve chosen men have taken those

¹¹⁸ A.G. Auld, *Joshua Retold*, 12-13. However, Van der Meer has argued that the whole context (shorter LXX, and not just the MT +s) is related to Lev 23. For this, see M.N. van der Meer, *Formation & Reformulation*, 249-415 and Auld's book review on this book in *JJS*, in press.

¹¹⁹ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua, A Commentary*, 70.

¹²⁰ M.H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua*, 95.

¹²¹ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 51.

stones in 4:1-8. This part is not linked with 4:1-8 ('b' layer). Vv 22, 23 also represent the concept of 'dry ground', but do so by using a different Hebrew word (ביבשה) from החרבה in the basic 'a' layer (3:17; 4:18). Thus, this part is not connected with the basic 'a' layer. ים-סוף in 4:23 is linked to the Reed Sea story in Exod 14. This part is the final layer ('e') in this narrative to link Josh 3-4 with similar water crossing events in Exod 13:17-14:31. We have already faced a similar problem in Chapter Four with the epithet of 'the ark of testimony' (ארון העדות) in Josh 4:16.¹²² We saw that a later editor of Josh 3-4 seems to have inserted the expression in Josh 4:16 in order to connect the book of Joshua with Exodus. In the very same manner, a later editor inserted the references to the Reed Sea crossing into this Jordan crossing story. Thus, Josh 4:15-16, 20-24 seem to be later than Exod 13:17-14:31. V 24 is also connected with the Israelite awe to Yahweh due to the miracle at the Reed Sea in Exod 14:31. The purpose of the event, which dried up the waters of the Jordan, is to show that Yahweh's hand is mighty and that the God of Israel rules over all the earth. However, the nations do not take part in this cult. Therefore, the ultimate purpose of this event is for the Israelites, so that they will be in awe of Yahweh and worship him.¹²³

6.3.2.17. The Examination of the Result of Literary Critical Analysis Based on the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX-Josh 3-4

Through literary critical analysis, we can see that Josh 3-4 is composed of five layers of different materials. First, the basic layer of this narrative is 'a'; 3:2-11, 13-17; 4:10b-11a, 14, 17-19. Second, the first addition to these chapters is 'b'; 4:1-8, 10a, 11b, 12-13. Third, 'c'; 4:9. Fourth, 'd': 3:1, 12. Fifth, the final redactional insertion to this

¹²² MT-Josh 4:16 represents ארון העדות, but B ארון ברית עדות יהוה.

¹²³ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 51.

narrative is 'e'; 4:15-16, 20-24.

At this point it is necessary for us to question whether our research so far has proceeded correctly and has come to a satisfactory outcome. To test the result of our research, we will reconstruct each stratum in the retroversion of LXX *Vorlage* on to a table and examine the following aspects: the character each layer has; the separate episodes each layer has; what kind of changes appear to those episodes; how many separate episodes should be detected; which episodes are missed and which new episodes appear at each stage when we reconstruct the text according to the process of combining each layer (a, a+b, a+b+c...etc,) – in the same way as archaeologists find geological strata and remains. Then, we will investigate the distribution of major words in each layer to observe whether our research comes to a satisfactory result.

[Table 12]. Layers of Text in the OG *Vorlage* Josh 3:1-4:24

	'a' Layer	'b' Layer	'c' Layer	'd' Layer	'e' Layer
	3:2-11, 13-17, 4:10b-11a, 14, 17-19	4:1-8, 10a, 11b, 12-13	4:9	3:1, 12	4:15-16, 20-24
E P I S O D E S	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and arrival at Gilgal by means of the ark, related to the conquest story-The emphasis on the holiness of the ark and cultic sanctification-The emphasis on passing over on dry ground-The exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses-The priests coming out of the Jordan- The return of the waters of the Jordan to their place	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Joshua's calling twelve men already appointed-Carrying twelve stones over to the place, where they will lodge- Two and a half tribes armed for battle passing over to Jericho	<ul style="list-style-type: none">- Joshua's diligence and departure from Shinar-The prefiguration of the covenant to change twelve men for twelve tribes	<ul style="list-style-type: none">-The command to Joshua to tell the priests who bore the ark of the covenant of the testimony of Yahweh to come up from the water-Setting up twelve stones for the twelve tribes at the brink of the Jordan (Gilgal)	
	'a' + 'b': 3:2-11, 13-17; 4:1-8, 10-14, 17-19				

A	- Passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and arrival at Gilgal by means of the ark, related to the conquest story		
M	-The emphasis on the holiness of the ark and cultic sanctification		
A	-The emphasis on passing over on dry ground		
L	-The exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses		
G	- Joshua's calling twelve men already appointed		
A	-Carrying twelve stones over to the place, where they will lodge		
M	- Two and a half tribes armed for battle passing over to Jericho		
A	-The priests coming out of the Jordan		
A	- The return of the waters of the Jordan to their place		
T	'a' + 'b' + 'c': 3:2-11, 13-17, 4:1-14, 17-19		
I	- Passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and arrival at Gilgal by means of the ark, related to the conquest story		
O	-The emphasis on the holiness of the ark and cultic sanctification		
N	-The emphasis on passing over on dry ground		
O	-The exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses		
F	- Joshua's calling twelve men already appointed		
L	-Carrying twelve stones over to the place, where they will lodge		
A	Twelve other stones in the middle of the Jordan		
Y	- Two and a half tribes armed for battle passing over to Jericho		
E	-The priests coming out of the Jordan		
R	- The return of the waters of the Jordan to their place		
S	'a' + 'b' + 'c' + 'd': 3:1-17; 4:1-14, 17-19		
	Joshua's diligence and departure from Shittim		
	- Passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and arrival at Gilgal by means of the ark, related to the conquest story		
	-The emphasis on the holiness of the ark and cultic sanctification		
	The prefiguration of command to choose twelve men for twelve tribes		
	-The emphasis on passing over on dry ground		
	-The exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses		
	- Joshua's calling twelve men already appointed		
	-Carrying twelve stones over to the place where they will lodge		
	Twelve other stones in the middle of the Jordan		
	- Two and a half tribes armed for battle passing over to Jericho		
	-The priests coming out of the Jordan		
	- The return of the waters of the Jordan to their place		
	'a' + 'b' + 'c' + 'd' + 'e': 3:1-17, 4:1-24		
	Joshua's diligence and departure from Shittim		
	- Passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and arrival to Gilgal by means of the ark, related to the conquest story		
	-The emphasis on the holiness of the ark and cultic sanctification		
	The prefiguration of command to choose twelve men for twelve tribes		
	-The emphasis on passing over on dry ground		
	-The exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses		
	- Joshua's calling twelve men already appointed		
	-Carrying twelve stones over to the place where they will lodge		
	Twelve other stones in the middle of the Jordan		
	- Two and a half tribes armed for battle passing over to Jericho		
	The command to Joshua to tell the priests who bore the ark of the covenant of the testimony of Yuhweh to come up from the water		
	-The priests coming out of the Jordan		
	- The return of the waters of the Jordan to their place		
	Setting up twelve stones for the twelve tribes at Gilgal		

In [Table 12] above, layer 'a' shows the episodes of 'passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and arrival at Gilgal by means of the ark, related to the conquest

story', 'the emphasis on the holiness of the ark and cultic sanctification', 'the exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses', 'the priests coming out of the Jordan', and 'the return of the waters of the Jordan into their place'.

In layer 'b', the episodes of 'Joshua's calling twelve men already appointed', 'Carrying twelve stones over to the place, where they will lodge', and 'two and a half tribes armed for battle passing over to Jericho'.

In layer 'c', 'twelve other stones in the middle of the Jordan'.

In layer 'd', 'Joshua's diligence and departure from Shittim', and 'the prefiguration of command to choose twelve men for twelve tribes'.

Layer 'e' contains the episode of 'the command to Joshua to tell the priests who bore the ark of the covenant of the testimony of Yahweh to come up from the water', and 'setting up twelve stones for the twelve tribes at Gilgal'.

At each stage of amalgamation, we can see that the number of episodes in each layer conforms to the number of episodes we expected and no new episode appears. We can confirm that this result is in accord with our conclusion.

Here once again, it is necessary for us to examine the result of our research through the investigation of the major words in each layer. When the distribution of major words is tabulated, it will be possible for us to distinguish the features of the layers in this narrative more clearly.

[Table 13]. Frequency of Major Words by Layer in the OG *Vorlage* Josh 3:1-4:24

	a	b	c	d	e	Total
The ark	10	3	1	0	1	15
Israel	6	6	0	1	1	14
The people	10	3	0	0	1	14
The priests	10	1	1	0	1	13
Cross over (עבר)	8	8	0	1	3	20
The Jordan	14	6	1	1	4	26

As we see in [Table 13] above, ‘the passing over (20) the Jordan (26) with the ark (15) by the priests (13) and the Israelite people (14+14=28)’ is the theme of the whole narrative. We can see that these words have a relatively even distribution in ‘a’ layer, so ‘a’ is basic layer of this narrative. The ‘b’ layer, which is about ‘Israel’s crossing over the Jordan to carry twelve stones over to the place, where they will lodge’, also shows a regular distribution of words, although there is less interest in ‘the priests’, ‘the ark’, and ‘the people’. Thus, we could say ‘a’ and ‘b’ are major layers of this narrative, but ‘b’ is later. Added to these basic layers is the ‘c’ layer, in which ‘the ark’, ‘the priests’, and ‘the Jordan’ are emphasised (by ‘setting up the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan’), is added. The ‘d’ layer shows interest in ‘crossing the Jordan’ and ‘Israel’ (by selecting twelve men for each tribe). Finally, the ‘e’ layer, which knows all the important expressions in this narrative, was redactionally added. We can see that the analytical result of the word distribution supports our research.

6.3.2.18. Conclusion: Literary Critical Analysis of Josh 3-4 Based on the Retroversion of the LXX *Vorlage*

Through the literary critical analysis, we found five layers of different materials in Josh 3-4.

First, the basic layer (a), influenced by similar synoptic ark texts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles as 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5 (BTH), is that which connects passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Gilgal and the exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses; 3:2-11, 13-17; 4:10b-11a, 14, 17-19.

Another basic layer of this narrative, and the first addition to this narrative is 'b', which shows interest in carrying twelve stones over to the other side of the Jordan, and two and a half tribes passing over the Jordan according to Moses' command: 4:1-8, 10a, 11b, 12-13. This second layer appears to be influenced by Deuteronomy (Deut 3:18; 6:20-21; 27:1-6).

Third, the second additional layer ('c'), which is concerned with the aetiology of the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan; 4:9.

Fourth, the third insertion ('d') which emphasises Joshua's diligence and the beginning of the realisation of the Jordan crossing, and which links chapter 3 to 4 by 3:1, 12.

These four layers compose the primary story of this narrative.

Fifth, to those four layers, a final fourth redactional layer is added to connect this story with the ark narratives and Reed Sea story in Exodus; 4:15-16, 20-24.

One point we should bear in mind here is that the form of question and answer seems to be developed in the order of Deut 6:20-21>> Josh 4:6-7>> non-Priestly Exod

13:8-10>> Priestly texts in Exod 12:26-27; 13:14-15.

6.3.3. Literary Critical Analysis of Josh 3-4 Based on the final shape of the MT

6.3.3.1. Preparation for crossing the Jordan (3:1-4)

3:1 וַיִּשָּׂם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בִּבְקָר וַיִּסְעוּ מִהַשְּׁטִים וַיָּבֹאוּ
עַד-הַיַּרְדֵּן הוּא וְכָל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּלְנוּ שָׁם טָרֶם יַעֲבְרוּ:
2 וַיְהִי מִקְצֵה שְׁלֹשָׁת יָמִים וַיַּעֲבְרוּ הַשָּׁטְרִים בְּקֶרֶב הַמַּחֲנֶה:
3 וַיִּצְוּ אֶת-הָעָם לֵאמֹר בְּרֹאשֵׁיכֶם אֶת אֲרֹן בְּרִית-יְהוָה
אֱלֹהֵיכֶם וְהַכְּהִנִּים הַלְוִיִּם נְשָׂאִים אֹתוֹ וְאַתֶּם תִּסְעוּ
מִמְּקוֹמְכֶם וְהִלַּכְתֶּם אַחֲרָיו:
4 אַךְ רְחוֹק יִהְיֶה בֵּינֵיכֶם (וּבִינֵינוּ) וּבֵינֵינוּ כְּאַלְפִים אַמָּה
בְּמֹדֶה אֲלִי-תִקְרְבוּ אֵלָיו לִמְעַן אֲשֶׁר-תִּרְעוּ אֶת-הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר
תִּלְכּוּ-בָּהּ כִּי לֹא עֲבַרְתֶּם בַּדֶּרֶךְ מִתְּמוֹל שְׁלֹשָׁם: ס

[3:1-4] As we saw above, the phrase ‘rose at morning’ is the stereotypical rendering of a common Hebrew formula,¹²⁴ which also appears in 6:12, 15; 7:16; 8:10.¹²⁵ The change of the subject from third person singular to plural makes the syntax of this verse a bit clumsy. An MT redactor seems to have tried to solve this awkwardness by inserting *הוא וכל-בני ישראל*. By the insertion of this phrase, the ambiguity of the subject of this verse disappears and the phrase *כל-בני ישראל* which is a synoptic expression in 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16 and 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5 connects this verse with the basic layer of the narrative. As we saw above, there are a number of pluses in MT like this, which seems to be the final redactional layer of this narrative. We will refer to these pluses in the MT as the ‘δ’ layer.

¹²⁴ V. Fritz, *Das Buch Josua*, 46; A.G. Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*, 102.

¹²⁵ M.H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua*, 79.

The references to ‘three days’ and ‘the officers’ ‘passing through the camp’, and the order given to the people (vv 2-4) are connected to Joshua’s command in 1:10-11. This section is the continuation of the basic layer of this narrative, which is related to the conquest story that continues from chapter 1.¹²⁶ This basic layer will be called ‘ α ’ for the moment. The term ‘officers’ also appears at some important points of Josh 8:33; 23:2 and 24:1. The respectful distance in v 4 belongs to the basic layer, which is influenced by the accident of Uzzah in 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13 (BTH).

6.3.3.2. ‘Sanctify yourselves’ (3:5-6)

5 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־הָעָם הַחֲקֹדְשׁוּ כִּי מָחָר יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה
בְּקִרְבְּכֶם נִפְלְאוֹת:
6 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־הַכֹּהֲנִים לֵאמֹר שֹׂאוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית
וְעִבְרוּ לִפְנֵי הָעָם וַיִּשָּׂאוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית וַיֵּלְכוּ לִפְנֵי הָעָם: ט

[5-6] מחר (tomorrow), a routine formula of sanctification, seems to be connected with the single night chronology of v 1,¹²⁷ which belongs to the α layer. ‘The priests’ in v 6 also appears to be connected with the demand of ‘sanctification in cultic tradition’¹²⁸ in v 5. The MT marks vv 5-6 as a paragraph, as does LXX^B. This section is the continuation of the α layer.

6.3.3.3. Yahweh addresses Joshua and Joshua prepares his people (3:7-11)

7 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֶחָל נִדְלַף בְּעֵינֵי
כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר יֵדְעוּן כִּי כֹאֲשֶׁר הָיִיתִי עִם־מֹשֶׁה אֵהְיֶה עִמָּךְ:
8 וְאַתָּה חֲצֹה אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים נִשְׂאֵי אֲרוֹן־הַבְּרִית לֵאמֹר כִּבְּאַלְכֶם
עַד־קֶצֶה מִן הַיַּרְדֵּן בַּיַּרְדֵּן תַּעֲמְדוּ: ח
9 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל נִשּׂוּ הִנֵּה וּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:

¹²⁶ J. Gray, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, 60.

¹²⁷ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 61.

¹²⁸ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua, OTL*, 47-8.

10 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה בְּזֹאת תִּדְעוּן כִּי אֵל חַי בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְהוֹרֵשׁ
 יוֹרֵשׁ מִפְּנֵיכֶם אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְאֶת־הַחִתִּי וְאֶת־הָחִיטִּי וְאֶת־הַפְּרִזִּי
 וְאֶת־הַגִּרְגָּשִׁי וְהָאֱמֹרִי וְהַיְבוֹסִי:
 11 הִנֵּה אֶרֶץ הַבְּרִית אֲדֹנָן כָּל־הָאָרֶץ עָבַר לִפְנֵיכֶם בַּיּוֹם:

[7-8] These verses are a continuation of the basic layer (α). The Yahweh's promise on the exaltation of Joshua given in Joshua 1 is being carried out in 3:7, which is linked with 1:5, 17-18 and 4:10, 14.

In v 8 the leadership role of Joshua (וַאֲתָה תִּצְוֶה, 'and you yourself shall command') is also stressed and v 8 connects the content of exaltation in v 7 with the story of the conquest of the land.

[9-11] In this section, Joshua delivers Yahweh's words (דְּבַר יְהוָה) to his people, which ends in v 13.¹²⁹ Here, we can also see that the basic layer (α) understands the event of 'crossing the Jordan' in connection with that of 'the Conquest war'.

6.3.3.4. Choose twelve men (3:12)

12 וַעֲתָה קְחוּ לָכֶם שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר אִישׁ מִשְׁבֹּטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ־אֶחָד
 אִישׁ־אֶחָד לְשֹׁבֶט:

[12] The sudden appearance of the command to take twelve men from the tribes of Israel makes the context a bit clumsy.¹³⁰ This verse (3:12) seems to be a redactional addition inserted by an editor, who knew the story of 4:1-8 and who did so to connect the contents of Chapters 3 and 4.

3:12 קְחוּ לָכֶם שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ־אֶחָד (אִישׁ־אֶחָד) לְשֹׁבֶט:

4:2 קְחוּ (לָכֶם) מִן־הָעָם (שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר) אָנָשִׁים אִישׁ־אֶחָד (אִישׁ־אֶחָד) מִשְׁבֹּט:

As we have seen above, LXX-Josh 3:12 and 4:2 show a quite different style,

¹²⁹ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 39.

¹³⁰ P.P. Saydon, 'The Crossing of the Jordan, Josue 3 and 4,' 199.

although MT Josh 3:12 and 4:2 show a rather similar structure. An MT editor seems to have put some pluses into both verses to sort out the differences between them. With the help of pluses in each verse, 3:12 belongs to the same layer as 4:1-8 (β).

6.3.3.5. Descent and Passing over on 'dry ground' (בחרבה) (3:13-17)

13 והיה כנזח כפוח רגלי הכהנים נשאי ארון יהוה ארון
כל הארץ במי הירדן מי הירדן יכרתון המים הירדים
מלמעלה ויעמדו גר אחד:
14 ויהי בנסע העם מאחליהם לעבר את הירדן והכהנים
נשאי הארון הברית לפני העם:
15 וכבוא נשאי הארון ער הירדן ורגלי הכהנים נשאי הארון
נטבלו בקצה המים והירדן מלא על כל גדותיו כל ימי קציר:
16 ויעמדו המים הירדים מלמעלה כמו גר אחד הרחק
מאר מאדם העיר אשר מצד צרתן והירדים על
ים הערבה יס המלח תמו נכרתו והעם עברו גר יריחו:
17 ויעמדו הכהנים נשאי הארון בריחיהו בחרבה בתוך
הירדן הכן וכל ישראל עברים בחרבה עד אשר תמו
כל הגוי לעבר את הירדן:

[13] V 13 has the same phrase *the Lord of all the earth* as in v 11. The focus of interest in v 13 is also on the ark, as it is in v 11. V 13 is the continuation of the basic α layer.

[14-16] The people's departure from their tents and the priests' bearing of the ark of the covenant before the people in v 14 are linked with the officers' command in vv 2-3. The detailed explanation on the cutting off of the waters in vv 15, 16 is connected with Joshua's prophecy in v 13 (when the feet of the priests rest in the waters, the waters of the Jordan shall stand). All of these verses are a continuation of α, which continues the story of the people's passing over opposite Jericho in v 16b. As we see from the explanation of Israel's crossing over opposite Jericho in this verse, the basic

layer (α) seems to connect this wonder with the conquest of Jericho.¹³¹

[17] V 17 shows the concern about passing over on 'dry ground' (בחרבה) as in 4:20-24. However, the Hebrew word for 'dry ground' (בחרבה) in this verse is different from that used in 4:20-24 (יבשה). נשא הארון ברית יהוה, נשא also connect this verse with the basic layer of this narrative (α).

6.3.3.6. Carrying twelve stones over to the brink of the Jordan and Erecting twelve memorial stones in the middle of the Jordan (4:1-9)

4:1 וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר-תָּמוּ כָל-הַגִּי לַעְבוֹר אֶת-הַיַּרְדֵּן וְ
וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לֵאמֹר:
2 קְחוּ לָכֶם מִן-הָעַם שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר אַנְשִׁים אִישׁ-אַחַד אִישׁ-אַחַד
מִשִּׁבְט:
3 וְצִוּ אוֹתָם לֵאמֹר שְׂאוּ-לָכֶם מִזֶּה מִתּוֹךְ הַיַּרְדֵּן מִמִּצֵּב
רְגְלֵי הַכְּהֲנִים הַכִּין שְׁתֵּי-עֶשְׂרֵה אֲבָנִים וְהַעֲבַרְתֶּם אוֹתָם
עִמָּכֶם וְהִנַּחְתֶּם אוֹתָם בְּמִלּוֹן אֲשֶׁר-תְּלִינּוּ בּוֹ הַלַּיְלָה: ס
4 וַיִּקְרָא יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל-שְׁנַיִם הָעָשָׂר אִישׁ אֶשֶׁר הָכִין מִבְּנֵי
יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ-אַחַד אִישׁ-אַחַד מִשִּׁבְט:
5 וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ עֲבְרוּ לִפְנֵי אַרְוֹן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם
אֶל-תּוֹךְ הַיַּרְדֵּן וְהָרִימוּ לָכֶם אִישׁ אֶבֶן אַחַת עַל-שִׁכְמוֹ
לְמִסְפָּר שִׁבְטֵי בְנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל:
6 לְמַעַן תִּהְיֶה זֹאת אוֹת בְּקִרְבְּכֶם כִּי-יִשְׁאָלוּן בְּנֵיכֶם מָחָר
לֵאמֹר מָה הָאֲבָנִים הָאֵלֶּה לָכֶם:
7 וַאֲמַרְתֶּם לָהֶם אֲשֶׁר נִכְרְתוּ מִיַּמֵּי הַיַּרְדֵּן מִפְּנֵי אַרְוֹן
בְּרִית-יְהוָה בַּעֲבֹר בַּיַּרְדֵּן נִכְרְתוּ מִי הַיַּרְדֵּן וְהָיוּ הָאֲבָנִים
הָאֵלֶּה לְזִכְרוֹן לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד-עוֹלָם:
8 וַיַּעֲשׂוּ-בְנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וַיִּשְׂאוּ שְׁתֵּי-עֶשְׂרֵה
אֲבָנִים מִתּוֹךְ הַיַּרְדֵּן כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֶל-יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לְמִסְפָּר
שִׁבְטֵי בְנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיַּעֲבִרוּם עִמָּם אֶל-הַמִּלּוֹן וַיִּנָּחֻם שָׁם:
9 וּשְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה אֲבָנִים הָקִים יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַיַּרְדֵּן תַּחַת מִצֵּב
רְגְלֵי הַכְּהֲנִים נֹשְׂאֵי אַרְוֹן הַבְּרִית וַיְהִי שֵׁם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:

[4:1-8] V 1a sums up the event of crossing the Jordan in chapter 3 and introduces a different story.¹³² V 1ff comprises another basic layer (β) of this narrative, which emphasises the twelve stones being moved to the brink of the river for twelve

¹³¹ T.C. Butler, *Joshua*, 48.

¹³² M.H. Woudstra, *The Book of Joshua*, 90.

tribes, but this is later than α . The numeral *twelve* occurs five times in these verses (one MT plus).¹³³ As we have seen in 6.3.2.7, this part is later than Deuteronomy and is influenced by it.

[9] The sudden appearance of the account that Joshua set up twelve other stones in the middle of the Jordan in LXX-Josh 4:9 makes a clumsy connection with v 8. However, by removing the word 'אחרים' in the LXX-Josh 4:9, the MT solves the disconnection with 4:1-8 (β). The plus *מִמַּצֵּב רִגְלֵי הַכְּהֻנִּים* in 4:3 also seems to be inserted so as to connect 4:9 which has the similar phrase *מִמַּצֵּב רִגְלֵי הַכְּהֻנִּים* with 4:1-8. In the MT, 4:9 also belongs to β . Here the middle of the Jordan, which is related to the location of the ark (3:17; 4:18) and the source of the memorial stones (4:3, 5, 8), is itself highlighted by the placement of stones.¹³⁴ The similar expression and phrases that Joshua set up twelve stones at Gilgal appears in 4:20. However, as we have seen in the textual criticism, the phrases *ושנים עשר אבנים* in v 9 and *ואת שנים עשר האבנים האלה* in v 20 (γ) show us that these two parts originate from different materials.

6.3.3.7. The Succession of Joshua to Moses (4:10-14)

10 וְהַכְּהֻנִּים נִשְׁאִי הָאָרוֹן עֲמֻדִים בְּתוֹךְ הַיַּרְדֵּן עַד תָּם
כָּל-הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לֵדְבַר אֶל־הָעָם כְּכֹל
אֲשֶׁר-צִוָּה מֹשֶׁה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וַיִּמְתְּרוּ הָעָם וַיַּעֲבְרוּ:
11 וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר־תָּם כָּל־הָעָם לַעֲבֹר וַיַּעֲבֹר אָרוֹן־יְהוָה וְהַכְּהֻנִּים לִפְנֵי הָעָם:
12 וַיַּעֲבְרוּ בְנֵי־רְאוּבֵן וּבְנֵי־נָדָב וְחֻצֵי שִׁבְט הַמְּנַשֶּׁה חֲמִשִּׁים
לִפְנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֱלֹהֵם מֹשֶׁה:
13 כַּאֲרֻבַּעִים אֵלֶּף חֲלוּצֵי הַצֵּבָא עָבְרוּ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה לַמִּלְחָמָה
אֵל עֲרֻבֹת יְרִיחוֹ: ס
14 בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא גִּדְּל יְהוָה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּעֵינֵי כָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֵּרְאוּ
אֹתוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר יֵרְאוּ אֶת־מֹשֶׁה כָּל־יְמֵי חַיָּיו: פ

[10-11] The priests who bore the ark were standing in the middle of the Jordan

¹³³ R.G. Boling and G.E. Wright, *Joshua*, 172.

¹³⁴ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 69.

until everything was fulfilled. This part is linked to the basic 'α' layer, which stresses the succession of Joshua to Moses as in 3:17; 4:14; cf. 2 Kgs 2. The MT plus *מֹשֶׁה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ* (כָּל אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה) in 4:10 is connected with the similar expression *כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֲלֵיהֶם מֹשֶׁה* in 4:12 and *כַּאֲשֶׁר יִרְאוּ אֶת־מֹשֶׁה כָּל־יְמֵי חַיָּיו* in 4:14 and puts vv 10-14 together. 4:10-11a repeats the element of 3:16b-17('α' layer), but in a different order and with altered grammar in order to 'restart' the frozen narrative action of the crossing.¹³⁵ MT-Josh 4:11b represents *הַכֹּהֲנִים* instead of *הַכֹּהֲנִים* in the LXX *Vorlage*. As we have seen above, this is an MT adjustment to be faithful to the command to the priests to take up the ark of the covenant, and to pass on before the people in 3:6 ('α'). 11b is also connected with 10a (α). This is the sequence of the story in which the ark and the priests, who had stood in the middle of the Jordan while Joshua carried out what Yahweh commanded (10a), passed over the Jordan once the task had been completed (11b).

[12-14] This section is the continuation of α, which connects this event with the conquest of the land. Here the command given in 1:12ff is carried out.¹³⁶ The special reference to the two and a half tribes seems to emphasise that all the tribes took part in the passing over and in the Conquest war. V 13 repeats the content of v 12, although the vocabulary is different. The phrase 'passed over to the plains of Jericho' is directly linked with the conquest story of Jericho in chapter 6. The exaltation of Joshua as a leader like Moses belongs to α. The 'α' layer regards the completion of the passing over as the accomplishment of Yahweh's promise of the exaltation of Joshua, as given in chapter 1.

¹³⁵ R.D. Nelson, *Joshua*, 69.

¹³⁶ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua*, OTL, 65.

6.3.3.8. The Ark of the Testimony (4:15-16)

15 וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לֵאמֹר:
16 צוּה' אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים נֹשְׂאֵי אֲרוֹן הָעֵדוּת וַיַּעֲלוּ מִן־הַיַּרְדֵּן:

[15-16] As we have seen in Chapter Four, this is the only occurrence of אֲרוֹן הָעֵדוּת in the entire Former Prophets and Chronicles. It appears mainly in Exodus and Numbers. These two verses are later insertion (γ) to link this ark narrative with those in Exodus.

6.3.3.9. Ascent and arrival at Gilgal (4:17-19)

17 וַיֵּצֵא יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים לֵאמֹר עָלוּ מִן־הַיַּרְדֵּן:
18 וַיְהִי בַעֲלוֹת הַכֹּהֲנִים נֹשְׂאֵי אֲרוֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה
מִחוּץ הַיַּרְדֵּן נִתְקוּ כַּפּוֹת רַגְלֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶל הָחֶרֶב וַיָּשָׁבוּ
מִן־הַיַּרְדֵּן לְמָקוֹמָם וַיֵּלְכוּ כַּחֲמוּל־שִׁלְשׁוֹם עַל־כָּל־גְּדוֹתָיו:
19 וְהָעָם עָלוּ מִן־הַיַּרְדֵּן בַּעֲשׂוֹר לַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּגִלְגָל
בְּקֶצֶה מִזְרַח יְרִיחוֹ:

[17-19] This part uses the same expressions (אֲרוֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה, נֹשְׂאֵי) as in the basic layer of this narrative and the ark narratives of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. This part is the conclusion of the basic layer of this water crossing narrative (α): the water that is cut off in 3:16 returns to its place and the people of Israel arrive at Gilgal.

6.3.3.10. Stones at Gilgal and confession (4:20-24)

4:20 וְאֵת שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה הָאֲבָנִים הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר לָקְחוּ מִן־הַיַּרְדֵּן
הַקִּים יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּגִלְגָל:
21 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁאַלְוּ בְּנֵיכֶם מָחָר
אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם לֵאמֹר מָה הָאֲבָנִים הָאֵלֶּה:
22 וְהוֹדַעְתֶּם אֶת־בְּנֵיכֶם לֵאמֹר בִּיבִשְׁהָ עַבְדֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל
אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּן הַזֶּה:
23 אֲשֶׁר־הוֹבִישׁ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֶת־מִי הַיַּרְדֵּן מִפְּנֵיכֶם
עַד־עֲבָרְכֶם כְּאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לְיַם־סוּף אֲשֶׁר־הוֹבִישׁ
מִפְּנֵינוּ עַד־עַבְרָנוּ:

24 לָמַעַן רְשַׁת כָּל־עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ אֶת־יְדֵי יְהוָה בִּי חֲזָקָה הִיא
לָמַעַן יֵרְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם כָּל־הַיָּמִים: 8

[20-24] Now the narrative returns to the story of the twelve stones at Gilgal in 4:1-8 (β). Although twelve chosen men have taken stones in 4:1-8, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX uses a singular verb לָקַח to emphasize the role of Joshua in 4:20. The MT seems to have adjusted the singular verb in the OG *Vorlage* to plural in order to connect this part with the syntax of 4:1-8. The MT also tries to connect this section with 4:6 by inserting מָחָר. However, we can still see some disconnection with 4:1-9. Even though the first part of 4:20 uses almost the same expressions as that of 4:9, the former displays a different style from the latter. In addition, this section does not show any interest in the ark and the cutting off of the water. Instead, this part uses a different word (בִּיבָשָׁה) compared to הִחְרַבָּה (3:17; 4:18) in the basic 'α' layer and represents יִסְכֹּף trying to connect this Jordan crossing with the Reed Sea story in Exod 13:17-14:31. This part is a redactional insertion (γ) so as to link this story with the Exodus story.

6.3.3.11. The Examination of the Result of Literary Critical Analysis Based on the final shape of the MT

Through literary critical analysis based on the MT, we can see that Josh 3-4 is composed of four layers of different materials. First, the basic layer of this narrative is α; 3:1-11, 13-17; 4:10-14, 17-19. Second, the first addition to these chapters is β; 3:12; 4:1-9. Third, γ: 4:15-16, 20-24. Fourth, the final redactional insertion to this narrative is δ; MT pluses: 3:1 (הוא וכל־בני ישראל), 3 (ואחם), 6 (לאמר), 7 (כי), 10 (ויאמר יהושע), 11 (לפניהם), 12 (איש־אחד, ועתה), 13 (כפות), 14 (גד אחד, ו־), 15 (יהי), 16 (מאדם), 17 (הבן); 4:1 (יהי),

2 (ארון, יהושע) 5, 4 (איש-אחד), 3 (איש-אחד, שנים עשר, לכם) 2, 13 (העם) 11, (ככל אשר-צוה משה את-יהושע, תוך) 10, 9 (נכרתו מי הירדן, בירדן) 7, (בני, אלהיכם) 14, 22 (הזה, ו-), 21 (הכהנים, כפות, תוך) 18, (עם) 14, (כ) 13.

Here again, it is necessary for us to test the results of our research by putting each stratum of the MT on to a table in order to examine each layer and the changes that arise when we reconstruct the text by combining each layer (α , $\alpha+\beta$, $\alpha+\beta+\gamma$...etc.). Then we can investigate the distribution of major words in each layer to observe whether our research comes to a satisfactory result, as we did above with the retroversion of LXX *Vorlage*.

[Table 14]. Layers of Text in the final shape of MT Josh 3-4

* δ layer (MT plus)- underlined bold words

δ	γ	β	α	
הוא וכל-בני ישראל			וישכם יהושע בבקר ויסעו מהשטים ויבאו עד-תירדן הוא וכל-בני ישראל וילנו שם שרם יעברו:	3:1
			יהי מקצה שלשת ימים ויעברו השטרים בקרב המחנה:	2
ואתם			ויצו אחיהם לאמר: כראותכם את ארון ברית-יהוה אלהיכם ותכהנים הלויים נשאים אתו ואתם חסעו ממקומכם נהלכתם אחריו:	3
			אך רחוק יהיה ביניכם ובינו	4

			כֹּאֲלֵפִים אָמַר בְּמִדָּה אֶל הַחֲקֵרְבוֹ אֵלָיו לִמְעַן אֲשֶׁר־תִּדְעוּ אֶת־הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר תִּלְכֶּרְכֶּה כִּי לֹא עֲבַרְתֶּם בַּדֶּרֶךְ מִחֲמוּל שְׁלוֹשׁ: ס	
			וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל הָעָם הַחֲקִדְשׁוּ כִּי מִהֵר יַעֲשֶׂה יְהוָה בְּקִרְבְּכֶם נִפְלְאוֹת:	5
	לֹאֲמַר		וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־הַכֹּהֲנִים לֹאֲמַר שֹׂאוּ אֶת־אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית וְעִבְדוּ לִפְנֵי הָעָם וַיִּשְׂאוּ לִפְנֵי הָעָם: אֶת־אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית וַיִּלְכוּ ס	6
	כִּי		וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֶחָד גָּדֹלךָ בְּעֵינֵי כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר יִדְעוּ כִּי כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיִיתִי עִמָּךְ מִשֶּׁה אֶתִּיהָ עִמָּךְ:	7
			וְאֵתָּה תַּצְוֶה אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים נְשֵׂאֵי אֲרוֹן־הַבְּרִית לֹאֲמַר כִּכְאֲכֶם עֲדִיקְצָה מִן הַיָּם דָּן בִּירְדֵּן תַּעֲמִדוּ:	8
			וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל נָשׂוּ הִנֵּה וּשְׁמַעוּ אֶת־דְּבָרֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:	9
	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ		וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּזֹאת תִּדְעוּ כִּי אֵל הוּא בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְהוֹרֵשׁ יִירִישׁ מִפְּנֵיכֶם אֶת־הַכְּנַעֲנִי וְאֵת הַחִתִּי וְאֶת־הַחִי וְאֶת־הַפְּרִזִּי וְהָאִתִּי וְהַיִּגְשִׁי וְהָאִמֹרִי וְהַיִּבְוֹסִי:	10
			הִנֵּה אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית אֲדֹן כָּל הָאָרֶץ עָבַר לִפְנֵיכֶם בִּירְדֵּן:	11
	לִפְנֵיכֶם וְעָתָּה	וְעָתָּה קָרוּ לָכֶם שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר אִישׁ מִשִּׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ־אֶחָד אִישׁ־אֶחָד לִשְׁבֹּט:	12	

מלמעלה נר אחר:			והיה כנות כפות הנלי הכהנים נשאי ארון יהוה ארון כל הארץ במי הירדן מי הירדן יכרתו המים הירדנים מלמעלה ויעמדו נר אחר:	13
			והיה בנסע העם מאהליהם לעבר את הירדן והכהנים נשאי הארון הברית לפני העם:	14
כל			וכבוא נשאי הארון שר הירדן וכל הכהנים נשאי הארון נשכלו בקצה המים והירדן מלא על כל גדותיו כל ימי קציר:	15
			ויעמדו המים הירדנים מלמעלה קמו גראתר הרחק מארם בארם העיר אשר מצד צרתן והירדנים על גם הערכה ים המלח תמו נכרתו והעם עברו נר ירחו:	16
הכן			ויעמדו הכהנים נשאי הארון ברית יהוה בהרבה בחור הירדן הכן וכל ישראל עברים בהרבה עד אשר תמו כל הגוי לעבר את הירדן:	17
יהי		ויהי כאשר תמו כל הגוי לעבור את הירדן ו יאמר יהוה אל יהושע לאמר:		4:1
לכם שנים עשר איש אחר		קחו לכם מן העם שנים עשר אנשים איש אחר איש אחת משבט:		2

<p>וַיֹּצֵא אוֹתָם לֵאמֹר: שֹׂאֵי לָכֶם מִזֶּה מִתּוֹךְ הַיֵּרֶדן מִמַּצֵּב הַנְּלִי הַכְּהֵנִים הַכִּין שְׁחִים דַּעֲשֶׂה אֲבָנִים וְהַעֲבַרְתֶּם אוֹתָם עִמָּכֶם וְהִנַּחְתֶּם אוֹתָם בְּמִלּוֹן אֲשֶׁר־חָלִינוּ בּוֹ הַלֵּילָה: ס</p>		<p>לָכֶם מִזֶּה מִמַּצֵּב הַנְּלִי הַכְּהֵנִים</p>	3
		<p>וַיִּקְרָא יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אֶל שְׁנֵי הָעָשָׂר אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר הָכִין מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אִישׁ־אֶחָד אִישׁ־אֶחָד מִשְׁבָּט:</p>	4
<p>יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אָרֹן אֱלֹהֵיכֶם</p>		<p>וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ עֲבְרוּ לִפְנֵי אָרֹן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֶל־ תּוֹךְ הַיֵּרֶדן וְהִרְמֹנוּ לָכֶם אִישׁ אֶבֶן אֶחָד עַל־שִׁכְמוֹ לְמַסָּפָה שְׁבָטֵי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל:</p>	5
		<p>לְמַעַן תִּהְיֶה זֹאת אוֹת בְּקִרְבְּכֶם כִּי יֵשְׁאֲלוּ בְנֵיכֶם מָחָר לֵאמֹר מָה הָאֲבָנִים הָאֵלֶּה לָכֶם:</p>	6
		<p>וַאֲמַרְתֶּם לָהֶם אֲשֶׁר נִכְרְתוּ מִמֵּי הַיֵּרֶדן מִפְּנֵי אָרֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה בְּעַבְדּוֹ בִּירְדּוֹ נִכְרְתוּ מִי הַיֵּרֶדן וְהָיוּ הָאֲבָנִים הָאֵלֶּה לְזִכָּרוֹן לִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד־עוֹלָם:</p>	7
<p>נִכְרְתוּ מִי הַיֵּרֶדן</p>		<p>וַיַּעֲשׂוּ כֵן בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוֹשֻׁעַ וַיִּשְׂאוּ שְׁתֵּי־עֶשְׂרֵה אֲבָנִים מִתּוֹךְ הַיֵּרֶדן כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֶל־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ לְמַסָּפָה שְׁבָטֵי בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיַּעֲבִרוּם עִמָּם אֶל־ הַמִּלּוֹן וַיַּנְחוּם שָׁם:</p>	8

9	והכהנים נשאו הארון עמדים בתוך הירדן עד תם כל־הדבר אשר־צוה יהוה את־יהושע לדבר אל־העם בכל אשר־צוה משה את־יהושע וימרו העם ויעברו:	ושתיים עשרה אכנים הקים יהושע בתוך הירדן חת מצב רגלי הלהנים נשאו ארון הברית ויהיו שם עד היום הזה:	בתוך
10	ויהי כאשר־תם כל־העם לעבור ויעברו ארון־יהוה והכהנים לפני העם:		בתוך
11	ויעברו בני־ראובן ובני־גד וחצי שבט המנשה חמשים לפני בני ישראל כאשר דבר אליהם משה:		
12	כארבעים אלף חלוצי הצבא עברו לפני יהוה למלחמה אל ערבות יריחו: ס		כ
13	ביום ההוא נגל יהוה את־יהושע בעיני כל־ישראל ויראו אחו כאשר יראו את־משה כל־ימי חייו: פ		
14	ויראו את־משה ויראו את־יהושע ויראו את־האכנים ויראו את־האכנים ויראו את־האכנים		
15	ויראו את־יהושע ויראו את־האכנים ויראו את־האכנים ויראו את־האכנים		
16	ויראו את־יהושע ויראו את־האכנים ויראו את־האכנים ויראו את־האכנים		
17	ויראו את־יהושע ויראו את־האכנים ויראו את־האכנים ויראו את־האכנים		

18	וְהָיָה בַּעֲלֹת הַכֹּהֲנִים נֹשְׂאֵי אֲרוֹן בְּרִית־יְהוָה מִתּוֹךְ הַיָּרְדֵּן וְחָקְוּ כַּפּוֹת רְגְלֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶל הַחֶרֶקֶת וְיָשְׁבוּ מִיַּרְדֵּן לְמִקְוֵמָם וְיִלְכּוּ כַּחֲמוּל־שִׁלְשׁוֹם עַל־כָּל־גִּדְוָתָיו:		תוֹךְ כַּפּוֹת
19	וְהָעָם עָלִי מִן־יַרְדֵּן בְּעֶשְׂרֵי לַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן וְיָחֲנוּ בְּגִלְגָּל בְּקֶצֶה מִזְרַח יִרְחֹו:		
20	וְיָאֵל שֵׁדִים וְעֹדֵה אַבְנִים וְאֵלֵה אֲשֵׁר לִקְרוֹי מִיַּרְדֵּן וְהָעָם לֹא־יָדְעוּ בְּגִלְגָּל:		
21	וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר אֲשֶׁר יִסְאֲלֻךְ בְּנֵיכֶם מָחָר אֵת־אֲבוֹתֶכֶם וְאָמַר מָה־ הָאֲבֹתִים הָאֵלֶּה:		וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מָחָר אֵת־אֲבוֹתֶכֶם
22	וְהַיְיָתָם אֲדֹמִיטִם וְאֵלֵה מִנְּפֹתָם עַד־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲלִימִידֵן הַזֶּה:		הַזֶּה:
23	אֲשֶׁר־הִוִּיתִי הָיָה אֱלֹהִים אֵל יְמִי מִיַּרְדֵּן מִפְּנֵיכֶם מִדְּעִמְדִּיכֶם מֵאֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה וְהָיָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לְיָמֵי סֹף אֲשֶׁר־הִוִּיתִי מִפְּנֵי מִדְּעִמְדִּיכֶם:		
24	לֵאמֹר הֲיָיָה מִלְּעַמִּי הָאֵלֶּה אֲתִיר וְהָיָה כִּי תִשָּׂא הָאֵל לְעַמִּי וְיִדְאֶנּוּ אֵלֶּי וְיִקְרָא אֱלֹהֵיכֶם מִלְּהִימָיִם:		

‘δ’ Layer: MT pluses	‘γ’ Layer: 4:15-16, 20-24	‘β’ Layer: 3:12; 4:1-9	‘α’ Layer: 3:1-11, 13-17, 4:10-14, 17-19	THE EPISTODES
3:1 (וְהָא וּכְלִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), 3 (וְאַחֲמַם), 6 (לְאֹמֶר), 7 (כִּי), 10 (וְיֹאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), 11 (לְפָנֵיכֶם), 12 (אִישׁ אֶחָד, וְעֵתָה), 13 (כַּפֹּת), 14 (וַיֵּדֹ), 14 (נָר אֶחָד, וְ—, מִלְמַעְלָה), 15 (הֶכֶן), 17 (מֵאֲדָם), 16 (כָּל), 2 (וַיֵּדֹ); 4:1 (שְׁנַיִם עֶשְׂרֵה לָכֶם), 2 (אִישׁ אֶחָד, וְ—, מִסְצַב רִגְלֵי הַכְּהֹנִים), 3 (לָכֶם מִזֶּה, לְאֹמֶר), 3 (אִישׁ אֶחָד), 4 (וְ—, מִסְצַב רִגְלֵי הַכְּהֹנִים), 5 (אִישׁ אֶחָד), 5 (אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, אֶחָד, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), 7 (בְּנֵי, וְנִכְרָתוּ מִן הַיַּרְדֵּן, בִּירְדֹן), 7 (בְּנֵי, מִשָּׁה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, תֶּדֶן), 10 (בְּתֶדֶן), 11 (הָעַם), 11 (כָּכָל אֲשֶׁר־צָוָה), 13 (כִּי), 14 (עַם), 18 (הָכְהֹנִים, כַּפֹּת, תֶּדֶן), 21 (הָכְהֹנִים, אֱלִיבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), 22 (וְ—, אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם, מִדֹּר, וַיֹּאמֶר הַזֶּה).	-The command to Joshua to tell the priests who bore the ark of the testimony to come up from the water - Setting up twelve stones for the twelve tribes at Gilgal	-The prefiguration of the command to choose twelve men - Joshua’s calling twelve men already appointed -Carrying twelve stones over to the place, where they will lodge -The memorials in the middle of the Jordan	- Passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and arrival to Gilgal by means of the ark, related to the conquest story -The emphasis on the holiness of the ark and cultic sanctification -The emphasis on passing over on dry ground -The exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses - Two and a half tribes armed for battle passing over to Jericho -The priests coming out of the Jordan - The return of the waters of the Jordan to their place -	
		‘α’ + ‘β’ + MT pluses inserted into ‘α’ and ‘β’ layers [3:1 (וְיֹאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), 10 (כִּי), 7 (לְאֹמֶר), 6 (וְאַחֲמַם), 3 (וְהָא וּכְלִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), 11 (לְפָנֵיכֶם), 12 (אִישׁ אֶחָד, וְעֵתָה), 13 (כַּפֹּת), 14 (וַיֵּדֹ), 15 (כָּל), 16 (מֵאֲדָם), 17 (הֶכֶן); 4:1 (שְׁנַיִם עֶשְׂרֵה לָכֶם), 2 (וַיֵּדֹ); 4:1 (שְׁנַיִם עֶשְׂרֵה לָכֶם), 3 (לָכֶם מִזֶּה, לְאֹמֶר), 3 (אִישׁ אֶחָד, וְ—, מִסְצַב רִגְלֵי הַכְּהֹנִים), 4 (וְ—, מִסְצַב רִגְלֵי הַכְּהֹנִים), 5 (אִישׁ אֶחָד), 5 (אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, אֶחָד, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), 7 (בְּנֵי, וְנִכְרָתוּ מִן הַיַּרְדֵּן, בִּירְדֹן), 7 (בְּנֵי, מִשָּׁה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, תֶּדֶן), 10 (בְּתֶדֶן), 9 (נִכְרָתוּ), 11 (כָּכָל אֲשֶׁר־צָוָה מִשָּׁה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, תֶּדֶן), 10 (בְּתֶדֶן), 9 (נִכְרָתוּ), 13 (כִּי), 14 (עַם), 18 (הָכְהֹנִים, כַּפֹּת, תֶּדֶן), 21 (הָכְהֹנִים, אֱלִיבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), 22 (וְ—, אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם, מִדֹּר, וַיֹּאמֶר הַזֶּה)].		AMALGAMATION OF LAYERS
		- Passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and arrival to Gilgal by means of the ark, related to the conquest story -The emphasis on the holiness of the ark and cultic sanctification -The prefiguration of command to choose twelve men for twelve tribes -The emphasis on passing over on dry ground -The exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses - Joshua’s calling twelve men already appointed -Carrying twelve stones over to the place, where they will lodge -The memorials in the middle of the Jordan - Two and a half tribes armed for battle passing over to Jericho -The priests coming out of the Jordan - The return of the waters of the Jordan to their place		
	‘α’ + ‘β’ + ‘γ’ + ‘δ’: 3:1 (וְהָא וּכְלִבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), 3 (וְאַחֲמַם), 6 (לְאֹמֶר), 7 (כִּי), 10 (וְיֹאמֶר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), 11 (לְפָנֵיכֶם), 12 (אִישׁ אֶחָד, וְעֵתָה), 13 (כַּפֹּת), 14 (וַיֵּדֹ), 15 (כָּל), 16 (מֵאֲדָם), 17 (הֶכֶן); 4:1 (שְׁנַיִם עֶשְׂרֵה לָכֶם), 2 (וַיֵּדֹ); 4:1 (שְׁנַיִם עֶשְׂרֵה לָכֶם), 3 (לָכֶם מִזֶּה, לְאֹמֶר), 3 (אִישׁ אֶחָד, וְ—, מִסְצַב רִגְלֵי הַכְּהֹנִים), 4 (וְ—, מִסְצַב רִגְלֵי הַכְּהֹנִים), 5 (אִישׁ אֶחָד), 5 (אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, אֶחָד, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), 7 (בְּנֵי, וְנִכְרָתוּ מִן הַיַּרְדֵּן, בִּירְדֹן), 7 (בְּנֵי, מִשָּׁה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, תֶּדֶן), 10 (בְּתֶדֶן), 9 (נִכְרָתוּ), 11 (כָּכָל אֲשֶׁר־צָוָה מִשָּׁה אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, תֶּדֶן), 10 (בְּתֶדֶן), 9 (נִכְרָתוּ), 13 (כִּי), 14 (עַם), 18 (הָכְהֹנִים, כַּפֹּת, תֶּדֶן), 21 (הָכְהֹנִים, אֱלִיבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), 22 (וְ—, אֶת־אֲבוֹתָם, מִדֹּר, וַיֹּאמֶר הַזֶּה).			

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and arrival to Gilgal by means of the ark, related to the conquest story -The emphasis on the holiness of the ark and cultic sanctification -The prefiguration of command to choose twelve men for twelve tribes -The emphasis on passing over on dry ground -The exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses - Joshua's calling twelve men already appointed -Carrying twelve stones over to the place, where they will lodge -The memorials in the middle of the Jordan - Two and a half tribes armed for battle passing over to Jericho -The command to Joshua to tell the priests who bore the ark of the testimony to come up from the water -The priests coming out of the Jordan - The return of the waters of the Jordan to their place - Setting up twelve stones for the twelve tribes at Gilgal 	

In [Table 14] above, α layer shows the episodes of 'passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and arrival at Gilgal by means of the ark, related to the conquest story', 'the emphasis on the holiness of the ark and cultic sanctification', 'the emphasis on passing over on dry ground', 'the exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses', 'two and a half tribes armed for battle passing over to Jericho', and 'the priests coming out of the Jordan', and 'the return of the waters of the Jordan to their place'.

The β layer contains the episodes of 'the command to choose twelve men for twelve tribes', 'carrying twelve stones over to the place, where they will lodge', and 'setting up twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan'.

The γ layer contains the episode of 'the command to Joshua to tell the priests who bore the ark of the testimony to come up from the water', and 'setting up twelve stones for the twelve tribes at Gilgal'.

In the δ layer, there are a number of MT pluses. In fact, thanks to the δ layer, this narrative becomes simpler and could be read more continuously without severance of context.

At each stage, we can see that the number of episodes in each layer conforms to the number of episodes we expected and no new episode appears once each layer is

combined. We can confirm that this result is in accordance with the conclusion that we came to in our literary critical analysis based on the MT.

Here once again, we need to to examine the results of our literary critical analysis based on the MT through the investigation of the major words in each layer. When the distribution of major words is tabulated, it will be possible for us to more clearly distinguish the features of the layers in this narrative more clearly.

[Table 15]. Frequency of Major Words by Layer in MT Josh 3-4

	‘α’ Layer	‘β’ Layer	‘γ’ Layer	‘δ’ Layer	Total
The ark	11	3	1	1	16
Israel	6	6	2	2	16
The people	11	2	1	0	14
The priests	10	2	1	1	14
Cross over (עבר)	12	5	3	0	20
The Jordan	14	7	4	1	26

As we see in [Table 15] above, ‘the passing over (20) the Jordan (26) with the ark (16) by the priests (14) and the Israelite people (16+14=30)’ is the theme of the whole narrative. We can see these words have a relatively even distribution in the ‘α’ layer, so ‘α’ is the basic layer of this narrative. The ‘β’ layer, which is concerned with the carrying of twelve stones over to the brink of the Jordan and setting up twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan, also shows a regular distribution of words, although there is less interest in ‘the ark’, ‘the priests’, and ‘the people’. Thus, we could say ‘α’ and ‘β’

are major layers of this narrative, but 'β' is later. Into these basic layers, the 'γ' layer, which shows interest in the ark of testimony and the twelve memorials in Gilgal, was inserted. Then, the 'δ' layer, which is MT plus, was redactionally added.

6.3.3.12. Conclusion: Literary Critical Analysis of Josh 3-4 Based on the final shape of the MT

Through the literary critical analysis, we found four layers of different materials in MT-Josh 3-4.

First, the basic layer (α) of this narrative is that which is influenced by the synoptic ark narratives in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles as 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5. This layer connects passing over the Jordan on dry ground to Jericho and the arrival at Gilgal by the ark with the conquest story of the land begun in chapter 1 and continued to chapter 6, as well as the exaltation of Joshua and his succession to Moses; 3:1-11, 13-17; 4:10-14, 17-19.

The first addition to this narrative is β, which is also a basic layer influenced mainly by Deuteronomy. It shows interest in the twelve stones carried to the brink of the Jordan and set up for the twelve tribes in the middle of the Jordan; 3:12; 4:1-9.

The second addition to this basic layer is γ, which connects this narrative with the epithet of 'the ark of testimony' and Reed Sea story in Exodus; 4:15-16, 20-24.

Then, the final redactional interpolation (δ) to this complex text is a number of pluses in the MT.

6.3.4. Possible Real Literary History of Josh 3-4

This investigation has unearthed two different apparent literary histories, each interesting and valuable in its own right.

There seem to be five layers of different materials in Josh 3-4 based on the LXX *Vorlage*:

First, the basic layer (a): 3:2-11, 13-17; 4:10b-11a, 14, 17-19. This has been influenced by the synoptic materials in similar ark narratives in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles as 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5 (BTH).

Another basic layer of this narrative, and the first addition to this narrative is 'b', which shows an interest in carrying twelve stones over to the other side of the Jordan, and two and a half tribes passing over the Jordan according to Moses' command: 4:1-8, 10a, 11b, 12-13. This second layer appears to be influenced by Deuteronomy, and especially by Deut 3:18; 6:20-21; 27:1-6.

Third is the second additional layer ('c'), which is concerned with the aetiology of the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan; 4:9.

Fourth, the third redactional insertion ('d') to this narrative is 3:1, 12.

These four layers compose the primary story of this narrative.

Fifth, to those four layers, the final redactional layers are added to connect this

story with the ark narratives and Reed Sea story in Exodus; 4:15-16, 20-24.

On the other hand, there seem to be only four layers of different materials in the final shape of MT Josh 3-4:

‘α’ layer; 3:1-11, 13-17; 4:10-14, 17-19

‘β’ layer; 3:12; 4:1-9

‘γ’ layer; 4:15-16, 20-24

‘δ’ layer (pluses in MT); 3:1 (הוא וכל־בני ישראל), 3 (ואתם), 6 (לאמר), 7 (כי), 10 (יהי), 11 (ויאמר יהושע), 12 (לפניכם), 13 (ועתה), 13 (מלמעלה וְגַם נָדָה אֶחָד, כפות), 15 (כל), 17 (הבן); 4:1 (בני), 2 (אלהיכם, ארון, יהושע), 5 (וְגַם־מִמָּצֵב רִגְלֵי הַכְּהֵנִים, לכמ מזה, לאמר), 3 (איש־אחד, שנים עשר, לכם), 7 (נכרתו מי הירדן), 9 (בתוך), 10 (בתוך), 13 (כ), 18 (כפות, חוך), 21 (הזה), 22 (את־אבותם, מחר, ויאמר אל־בני ישראל).

Here, we can see that the result of our investigation is rather surprising and even paradoxical. On the one side, we found five levels in the earlier Hebrew *Vorlage* of B and four levels in the later final shape of MT. It does not seem to be a plausible situation. Yet, some could argue that just as one can identify more than one dimension and see things better with two eyes than with one, by using both the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX and the MT one can read the textual and literary history of each text from more than one perspective and with more accuracy. Thus, it seems more appropriate to keep an open mind regarding the textual history and the reconstruction of the literary history of this complex text of Josh 3-4 based both on the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX and the MT.

However, as an expert in reading these complex texts, one should be open to all possibilities and be able to question how these chapters really did develop. How can we reconstruct the stage before the MT and the LXX? Did the MT add words to it? Did the

LXX *Vorlage* add words to it? Did the MT change words in it? Did the LXX *Vorlage* change words in it? Did all these things happen? Or did other things happen too? The analysis on the consequences of the literary history of the OG *Vorlage* and the MT Josh 3-4 could help to answer these questions. The results above show some differences between them: first, those layers in the OG *Vorlage* are more complex and more frequently disconnected than in the MT. On the contrary, the layers in the MT Josh 3-4 are simpler and could be read much further without severance of context; this seems to have been caused by two main differences between the LXX *Vorlage* and MT: 1) Josh 3:1, 12 belong to the fourth ('d') layer in the LXX *Vorlage*, but 3:1 to the basic layer (α) and 3:12 to the second layer (β) in the MT 2) The two stories about the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan and at the brink of the Jordan belong to two different layers (b, c) in the OG *Vorlage*, but to the same layer (β) in the MT. These differences are closely related to those many pluses and variants in the LXX *Vorlage* and the MT.

The comparison between the OG *Vorlage* and MT-Josh 3-4 showed us a number of differences between them, especially many more pluses in the MT than in the OG *Vorlage*. As we have seen in 6.2, a lot of pluses and variants in the MT-Josh 3-4 are rather rare and unusual in the Hebrew Bible, but almost all the pluses and variants in the OG *Vorlage* are quite common in Old Testament Hebrew. Even though there were some cases we cannot decide upon, these divergences in MT seem to have been inserted later with theological and exegetical intention, having been redactionally interpolated to solve some syntactical clumsiness in a verse. Thus, it might be possible to consider that the divergences in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX are primary and original to the text of Josh 3-4, but those in the MT are secondary and were inserted later. If we pay attention to those differences between the LXX *Vorlage* and MT in 3:1, 12 and 4:9, we can understand this position more easily.

In the results of the literary critical analysis, Josh 3:1 is at a different level in LXX *Vorlage* than it is in the MT.

LXX *Vorlage* Josh 3:1 וישכם יהושע בבקר ויסע מהשמים ויבאו עד־הירדן

(וילנו שם טרם יעברו:)

MT Josh 3:1 וישכם יהושע בבקר ויסעו מהשמים ויבאו עד־הירדן

(הוא וכל־בני ישראל) וילנו שם טרם יעברו:

The lodging of one night in Josh 3:1 after three days of spying in ch. 2 cuts off the stream of 'three days' from 1:11 to 3:2. The change of the subject from third person singular into plural makes the syntax of this verse clumsier. In addition, it is not clear who is the subject of the plural form of ויבאו---וילנו in LXX *Vorlage* Josh 3:1. These problems seem to be caused by the insertion of this verse by one of the final editors ('d' layer) to stress the diligence of Joshua and the realisation of the divine promise on crossing the Jordan. The first scribe of B, who also regarded this verse as a separate and independent paragraph appears to support this position.

The final editor of MT seems to have tried to solve this problem by changing ויסע in the OG *Vorlage* into ויסעו and by putting in הוא וכל־בני ישראל. By these variations, the MT editor attempts to solve the awkwardness of the syntax of LXX *Vorlage* 3:1, where only Joshua 'set out' from Shittim and ambiguous plural people go to the Jordan. Moreover, the insertion of the phrase, הוא וכל־בני ישראל, also solves the problem of the dislocation and isolation of this verse. Even though הוא וכל־בני ישראל is a rare expression in the Hebrew Bible, (כל־) בני ישראל is a basic expression which appears in similar synoptic ark texts (1 Kgs 8:3//2 Chron 5:4; 1 Kgs 8:9//2 Chron 5:10). This plus ישראל connects this verse with the same expression in Josh 3:9, 12 and with the basic (כל־) בני

layer of this narrative (' α ' layer).

The command to take twelve men from the tribes of Israel (3:12) breaks the context between 3:11 and 3:13. This verse is a later insertion. If we compare the LXX *Vorlage* Josh 3:12 and 4:2, we can see that 3:12 is a different layer from 4:1-8.

LXX *Vorlage* Josh 3:12 קחו לכם שני עשר איש מבני ישראל איש־אחד לשבט:

LXX *Vorlage* Josh 4:2 קחו מן־העם אנשים איש־אחד משבט:

The LXX *Vorlage* Josh 3:12 represents some more words (שני עשר, לכם) and shows a different style from 4:2. This verse (3:12) is a later insertion, which was added to this section by an editor in order to connect the contents of chapters three and four. However, an MT editor who noted this break has tried to connect these two verses.

MT Josh 3:12 קחו לכם שני עשר איש מבני ישראל איש־אחד (איש־אחד) לשבט:

MT Josh 4:2 קחו (לכם) מן־העם (שנים עשר) אנשים איש־אחד (איש־אחד) משבט:

Unlike LXX-Josh 3:12 and 4:2, MT Josh 3:12 and 4:2 show a rather similar style and structure. An MT editor interpolates some words into both verses to sort out the differences between them. With the help of pluses in MT, 3:12 belongs to the same layer as 4:1-8 (β).

The differences between the LXX *Vorlage* and MT Josh 4:9 explain the opposite cases.

LXX *Vorlage* Josh 4:9 ושחים עשרה אבנים (אחרים) הקים יהושע בו בירדן תחת מצב רגלי הכהנים

נשאי ארון ברית (יהוה) ויהיו שם עד היום הזה:

MT Josh 4:9 ושחים עשרה אבנים () הקים יהושע בתוך הירדן תחת מצב רגלי הכהנים

נשאי ארון הברית () ויהיו שם עד היום הזה:

As already stated in Chapter Three, it does not seem possible that the original story had two sets of twelve stones. Josh 4:9 appears to have been inserted later to stress the cutting off of the waters and dry ground in the middle of the Jordan in connection with the twelve stone story at the brink of the Jordan. In this sense, LXX *Vorlage* Josh 4:9 seems to be primary, which represents אחרים and makes a clear distinction between the twelve stones at the brink of the Jordan and in the middle of the Jordan. As we have seen in 6.2, even although there are some uncertain cases that cannot be judged, the pluses and variants in the OG *Vorlage* are quite common expressions in the Old Testament and appear to be primary and earlier than those in MT. אחרים is used quite often in the Old Testament and also occurs in synoptic texts of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (1 Kgs 9:6//2 Chron 7:19, 1 Kgs 9:9//2 Chron 7:22, 2 Kgs 22:17//2 Chron 34:25) to warn Israel against forsaking Yahweh and serving other gods. In other biblical texts, it appears mainly in similar situations to warn Israel or prevent Israel against sinning by serving other gods (Exod 20:3; 34:14; Deut 5:7; 6:14; 7:4; 8:19; 11:16, 28; 13:2(3), 6(7), 13(14), 17:3; 18:20; 28:14, 36, 64; 29:26 (25); 30:17; 31:18, 20; Josh 23:16; 24:2, 16; Jud 2:12, 17, 19; 10:13; 1 Sam 8:8; 26:19; 11:4, 10; 14:9; 2 Kgs 17:7, 35, 37, 38; 2 Chron 28:25; 34:25; Jer 1:16; 7:6, 9, 18; 11:10; 13:10; 16:11, 13; 19:4; 22:9; 25:6; 35:15; 44:3, 5, 8, 15; Hos 3:1; cf. Num 14:24). Thus, this word (אחרים) automatically reminds Israel of the first commandment in Exod 20:3 and Deut 5:7: 'You shall have no other gods before me'. In the book of Joshua as well, this word was used in the negative context to warn Israel's guilty against serving other gods: Josh 23:16; 24:2, 16. Thus, the word אבנים אחרים in LXX *Vorlage* Josh 4:9 can remind the Israelite readers of these negative meanings, just as the other altar near the Jordan, set up by the Transjordanian tribes in Josh 22:10-34, did to the people of Israel. Therefore, an MT

editor might have eliminated this word (אחרים) exegetically and bestowed the same authority to the stones in the middle of the Jordan as the stones at the brink of the Jordan, in order to read this verse without discontinuity.

The next example, יהוה, supports this position. The LXX *Vorlage* Josh 4:9 represents יהוה, but the MT does not. As we have seen in Chapter Four, the epithet יהוה ארון ברית יהוה in LXX *Vorlage* 4:9 is a basic expression which occurs in 1 Kgs 8:1//2 Chron 5:2 (BTH). ארון הברית in MT Josh 4:9 is a variation of the basic expression. In this case, MT seems to have removed יהוה from ארון ברית יהוה, considering the negative meaning of אחרים, sinning against יהוה in LXX *Vorlage* 4:9.

Thus, we can now try to reconstruct the possible real literary history of Josh 3-4:

The basic layer of this narrative was LXX *Vorlage* Josh 3:2-11, 13-17; 4:4:10b-11a, 14, 17-19, which was influenced by BTH.

Into this basic layer, the twelve stone story at the brink of the Jordan and the two and half tribes story in LXX *Vorlage* Josh 4:1-8, 10a, 11b, 12-13, which is influenced by Deuteronomy, and especially by Deut 3:18; 6:20-21; 27:1-6, is added.

The third layer in this narrative is LXX *Vorlage* Josh 4:9 which emphasises the dry ground in the middle of the Jordan and its cutting off.

The fourth layer of this narrative is LXX *Vorlage* Josh 3:1, 12 which highlight the diligence of Joshua and the realisation of the divine promise to cross the Jordan, and to connect Josh 3 with Josh 4.

The fifth layer (LXX *Vorlage* Josh 4:15-16, 20-24) was added to link this narrative with Exodus.

At the final stage, an MT editor tried to solve the clumsiness and disconnection in context by deleting some expressions in LXX *Vorlage* as אחרים and יהוה in 4:9, by changing some words as ויסע in the OG *Vorlage* into ויסעו, and by adding some words into LXX *Vorlage* as איש-אחד in MT Josh 3:12 and איש-אחד, שנים עשר, לכם in MT Josh 4:2. This made the final shape of MT Josh 3-4 much simpler and helped to solve the discontinuity of context and decreased the complexity of this narrative.

6.4. Polzin, the Textual and Literary History, and MT Pluses in Joshua 3-4

Through the study of the textual history of the OG *Vorlage* and the MT of Josh 3-4, we find some indicators that the former seems to be prior to the latter. However, at least, without much firmer evidence, it is more prudent to reconstruct the literary history of Joshua 3-4 based on both the OG *Vorlage* and the MT. In addition, with the help of the study of the literary history of this complex narrative based on the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX, we found five layers of different materials in Josh 3-4, and based on the MT, four layers of different materials.

However, by not paying attention to the textual and literary history of both the LXX *Vorlage* and the MT, but by reading only from the final form of the MT, Polzin demonstrates a limited reading and understanding of this complex narrative.

One of the weaknesses of Polzin's understanding is his failure to consider that certain words and phrases are, in fact, MT pluses. These warrant closer attention.

According to Polzin, 'the ritual nature' of Josh 3:1-5:1 allows the so-called Deuteronomist to construct a highly intricate and amazingly precise compositional

structure. He holds that this narrative is a well-programmed and stylized literary unity on a *cultic procession* that interconnects the various surface points of view of the story to a degree that approaches geometric precision (p. 94). However, a deeper analysis of the passage and ‘cultic narrative’ is necessary in order to render a proper understanding. Many scholars, including Soggin,¹³⁷ tried to connect this narrative with the spring feast in Gilgal, by means of linking the phrases ‘the sons of Israel camped in Gilgal (בגלגל ויחנו בני־ישראל)’ in 5:10 and מִמַּחֲרַת הַפֶּסַח in v 11. However, these are MT pluses.¹³⁸ Thus, his attempt to understand Josh 3-4 in connection with cultic performances only from the perspective of the MT seems problematic.

Maintaining that the chronological discrepancy between 3:2 and 4:19 is not a ‘crucial problem’, and does not play a ‘key role’, Polzin insists that it is not meaningful enough to invest hermeneutic energy in this question (pp. 91-2). However, his point stands at variance to the text. He regards the event of crossing the Jordan as a cultic procession based on the chronological contents in this narrative and pluses in 5:10-11. Problematically, he seeks to read only the final form of the MT of this narrative as a literary unity without noticing the problems behind the text.

According to him, 3:12 and 4:11 are also ‘literary signals’ that shift in temporal points of view to highlight those two events, the setting up of the twelve stones (4:1-8) and the coming up of the priests (4:15-18) (p. 97). However, a closer analysis of the Hebrew text will reveal a different picture. Joshua 3:12 seems to be connected with the twelve stones set up at the brink of the Jordan in 4:1-8, especially 4:2. However, if we consider the literary history of Josh 3-4, we can see that 3:12 and 4:2 are from different material. Although 3:12 and 4:2 have an almost identical word order and sentence structure, the words לָכֶם and שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר, in 4:2 appear only in the MT and אִישׁ־אֶחָד in pc Mss.

¹³⁷ J. A. Soggin, *Joshua, OTL*, 66.

¹³⁸ A.G. Auld, *Joshua Retold: Synoptic Perspectives*, 12-13.

Thus, even though Polzin, with the help of Russian literary theory, holds that this is a shift in temporal point of view, 3:12 appears to be a redactional addition, using the story of 4:1-8 to connect the contents of Chapters 3 and 4. Similarly, an MT editor tried to solve these problems between 3:12 and 4:2 by MT pluses in 4:2. His argument that 4:11 is literary anticipation is also a little problematic. The OG *Vorlage* represents והאבנים instead of והכהנים and לפנייהם instead of לפני העם. By following only the MT, Polzin's contention that 4:11 foreshadows 4:15-18, thereby emphasising the coming up of 'the priests', is not plausible.

His attempt to explain the inconsistencies in Josh 3-4 regarding the shift of the narrator's spatial point of view is problematic in that it ignores the textual and literary history of this narrative. According to Polzin, in 3:1-4:14 the narrator 'took his narrating position from the point of view of the Israelites entering the land, but then in 4:15-5:1 takes his perspective from the point of view of a non-Israelite watching the progress of this miraculous procession (p. 101)'. For this purpose, he especially focuses on the second episode of 4:1-8. Noticing the threefold indication, 'from here,' 'from the middle of the Jordan,' and 'where the priests' feet stand firm,' Polzin asserts that, although it is not clear where Yahweh is while speaking to Joshua in 4:3, Joshua and the twelve men should be together with the priests, where he should command the men to carry the twelve stones to the camp (p. 99-100). However, if we look closely at the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX and the MT, here לכם מזה and רגלי הכהנים are MT pluses. Thus, by following only the MT, his assertion that Joshua is in the middle of the Jordan and with the priests in 4:3 is rendered implausible. He commits a similar error in 4:5. He insists that in 4:5 Joshua is giving orders to the twelve men on the western side of the Jordan, but here יהושע, ארון, אלהיכם are MT pluses and the OG *Vorlage* represents one לפני. Thus, in the verse where Yahweh gives the order, it is difficult to believe that

Polzin understands this verse correctly, thereby casting doubt on his assertions regarding the location of the characters. In addition, a careful reading of 4:10b-11 reveals that until all that Moses commanded was completed, the priests stood firm and the people crossed in a hurry after the completion of them. Although it appears in 4:1-8 that the people are already on the western side of the river, in 4:10b-11a they are in the middle of the Jordan with the priests while the commands are carried out. Furthermore, as we noticed above, the OG *Vorlage* represents והאבנים instead of והכהנים and לפנייהם instead of לפני העם. Therefore, his attempt to solve the discrepancies between these two parts from a spatial point of view by reading only from the MT is problematic.

In conclusion, we find that Polzin's attempt to read this narrative only from the final shape of the MT is limited in that he does not pay attention to the textual and literary history of Josh 3-4, at least, in the point that he does not properly consider a lot of the pluses in the MT.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to present a test case for diachronic and synchronic approaches in the book of Joshua, especially with regard to Josh 3-4, it being one of the most complex texts in the Old Testament. This work has paid particular attention to how Polzin's approach, which is regarded as being one of the best synchronic readings of Joshua, is applied to the text of Josh 3-4, while attention has also been given to the relevance of the theories of Auld.

As a preliminary study, Chapter One surveys the recent diachronic research history of Joshua 3-4 and suggests some possible methodologies that will help examine this complex text. There have been two competing directions of diachronic researches on Josh 3-4:

- 1) Attempts to find various layers of material behind the text based on the MT;
- 2) Attempts to reconstruct the textual and literary history of this narrative, taking into consideration a number of differences between the MT and LXX, and accepting those challenges raised by the LXX.

The former shows the limitation of tracing the literary history of this complex narrative only from the final form of the MT and of the indebtedness to the so-called deuteronomistic theory raised by Noth. While the latter pays attention to the divergences between the MT and LXX, and considers challenges raised by the LXX, it does not provide detailed explanations of the literary history of Josh 3-4. Neither has it clearly explained a large number of repetitions, discontinuities, and inconsistencies in the text, nor supplied any detailed analysis of the various strata of materials existing behind this text. While this kind of study succeeds in highlighting

the importance of the Septuagint, it has not attempted to produce a retroversion of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX-Josh 3-4, nor has it attempted to reconstruct the literary history of this narrative from the OG *Vorlage*, or find layers of materials in this text. By contrast, this thesis has tried to reconstruct the literary history of Josh 3-4, and discover various layers of materials behind the text, while thoroughly considering those challenges provided by the OG *Vorlage*.

Chapter Two is another preliminary study undertaken to survey some major recent synchronic readers and their methodologies in reading the book of Joshua. This chapter introduces the synchronic readings of Polzin, Hawk, Mitchell, and Winther-Nielsen. It attempts to uncover the problems in applying their methods to this text and also offers a critique of these sympathetic readings. While diachronic scholars divide the text, classify layers of material, and reconstruct it as they see fit, Polzin, Hawk, Mitchell, and Winther-Nielsen adopt a different approach to the text in that they value it and give it the respect they feel it deserves. Initially, their best efforts are given to gain an understanding of this ancient text, even if its meaning is difficult to determine. This seems to be the merit of their methodology. However, Hawk, Mitchell, and some of Winther-Nielsen's works have similarities, mainly in that they are indebted to Polzin. Hawk, for example, pays attention to a detailed command/execution framework. Polzin also applied the framework of prediction/fulfilment, command/fulfilment, and prefiguration/fulfilment to clarify his understanding of Josh 3-4. Hawk also shows some interest in the Hebrew verb, עבר, as does Polzin. He also pays attention to the repetition of crossing the Jordan by the shift of perspective, which appears to be influenced by Polzin's temporal, spatial, phraseological, and psychological shift in perspective. Mitchell also reads the book of Joshua from the perspective of the application of חרם as Polzin and Hawk do. Even if his position does differ from that of Polzin and Hawk in the sense that Mitchell understands the gap between the full application of חרם and its failure as the

difference between 'dream and reality', his position also seems to be indebted to Polzin, who understands it as the difference between authoritative dogmatism and traditional criticism, while Hawk understands it as the difficulty of applying dogma to the daily lives of people. Like other holistic readers (Polzin, Hawk, Mitchell), Winther-Nielsen also notices the extermination policy of foreigners in Moses' law in the book of Joshua and pays attention to the application of חרם. Like Polzin, he analyses the story of the crossing of the Jordan by dividing the narrative into episodes. He also pays regard to a temporal thread, or chain of representative events to argue for the unity of this story in the same way as Polzin does. By concentrating on dialogue introducers, another dimension of discourse-pragmatics, Winther-Nielsen tries to trace the themes elaborated in the dialogue structure, on which he seems to gain insight from Polzin. To explain dialogue and theme structure in this narrative, Winther-Nielsen quotes Polzin's 'command/fulfilment' and "anticipation/confirmation" structures "as the working out of an antiphonal pattern" (1995: 182-183). However, their methodologies and the results of their studies are quite different from one another. The divergence and the intricacy of their investigations are not so different from those of diachronic studies. Furthermore, even though Polzin explained the complex narrative of Joshua 3-4 from various aspects and dimensions quite well, the approaches of others are not as praiseworthy, being focused on just some narrow point, while failing to cover all the problems in this literary composite. It can also be argued that Polzin, to whom others are indebted and whose study on this narrative is clearly the superior one, fails to supply a clear explanation of the two different descriptions of the twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan, and at the bank of the Jordan. In addition, his research is limited insofar as he does not pay attention to the differences between the MT and the LXX, but reads only from the final form of the MT. Although Polzin does not disparage diachronic research and says only that synchronic study must come first, he does not offer any

diachronic attempt on Joshua 3-4. If this is the case, what sort of diachronic work on Josh 3-4 should follow Polzin's synchronic efforts? This thesis also attempts to answer that particular question over the course of its following chapters.

Chapter Three investigates the differences between the MT and the LXX of Joshua 3-4 through text critical analysis, and reconstructs the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX-Joshua 3-4, while taking into consideration the divergences between the major Greek editions (Margolis, Rahlfs, and Auld). Through text critical analysis, several differences were found between the MT and the LXX in Josh 3-4. However, these differences do not seem to be caused by errors in copying, or of a misunderstanding of the text, or even of exegetical and theological improvement from the MT to the LXX, as has traditionally been supposed. Rather, LXX-Joshua 3-4 appears to be based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the textual tradition underlying MT-Joshua 3-4. Furthermore, the generally shorter Greek is an earlier and better witness than the MT to that common original from which both have diverged, as the following examples show: (1) 3:5 and 6 show the literalness and faithfulness of the LXX in rendering the Hebrew *Vorlage*; (2) some verses show the possibility of scribal error on the MT side: dittography (3:8, 9), haplography (4:24); (3) there appear to be more elements of improvement, development and theologising in the MT than in the LXX: 3:9, 10, 12; 4:5, 8, 13; (4) there is some evidence showing exegetical variations and adjustments by the scribe or copyist of MT: 3:15, 17; 4:2, 3, 11; (5) in particular, there are a larger number of pluses in the MT than in the LXX. One important point among the features of this complex narrative observed through this text criticism is that the MT pluses seem to be the final layer of this narrative and make clear the possibility of the priority of the LXX. However, Polzin commits a critical mistake by not paying attention to the LXX. If we read this complex narrative more closely with the help of text critical analysis, we realise that the LXX provides us with a much better understanding and we do not need to apply Polzin's complex literary theory to

the two different stone stories in the middle and at the brink of the Jordan. Thus, one of the most difficult stories in this narrative can be better understood.

For the purpose of reading the literary history of Josh 3-4 in a diachronic way, the writer considers what position this text holds in the setting of the wider context of the ark narratives and the water-crossing stories in the Old Testament in Chapters Four and Five. In these two chapters, the writer considers recent trends in literary criticism that reject the existence of a Yahwist (J) and prefers to call material which does not belong to P simply 'non-Priestly', while suggesting new directions for literary criticism. One of these specific features is to read the story of the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets in reverse order. In this section, the writer examines the relevance of Auld's theory, in which the shared material by Samuel-Kings and Chronicles is the root work of the whole tree of Genesis – Kings.

Chapter Four compares the ark story in this text with those in the Pentateuch and other Former Prophets. This analysis demonstrated that the narratives on the movements and whereabouts of the ark share a number of words, phrases, and some major themes. These include: the epithets of the ark, the verbs used to describe the movement of the ark, the priests and the Levites as the carriers of the ark, the divine epithets, all Israel and all the people, the names of musical instruments, motifs of war, etc. Through an analysis of words and expressions in the ark narratives, we see a possible development of the texts from the materials shared between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles. In particular, ארון האלהים, ארון יהוה, ארון ברית יהוה, הארון in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are the basic designations of the ark, to which other designations were added and by which the two epithets in Num 10:33-36 also appear to have been influenced. The verbs that appear in the texts describing the ark's movement also support this possibility. The verbs, נשא, עלה, and בוא in the synoptic texts of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are basic expressions, to which other verbs are added, and the epithets have been developed into various expressions. In addition,

the priests and the Levites as the carriers of the ark, the divine epithets, all Israel and all the people, the names of musical instruments, the expressions describing the ritual, the war theme, etc., support the possibility of reading the literary history of these ark texts backwards. Therefore, this result seems to support the possibility of Auld's theory: namely, that the basic story of the monarchy (BTH) is the root work of the story of Israel before the monarchy.

The analysis of 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5, shows that it is not possible simply to argue that Chronicles was written later than Samuel-Kings. Although there are long non-synoptic materials in 1 Chron 15:1-24, 16:4-42, and 2 Chron 5:11b-13, there are many more small pluses in 2 Sam 6, 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11 including long pluses in 2 Sam 6:20b-23. B and 4QSam^a also support the possible priority of Chronicles to MT-Samuel, as: a) the verbs used to move the ark in B and 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6 agree with those in 1 Chron 13-16, but not with those in MT - 2 Sam 6. b) B, 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:5, 1 Chron 13:8 use שִׁירִים, but MT-2 Sam 6:5 uses בְּרוּשִׁים and B, 4QSam^a 2 Sam 6:5, 1 Chron 13:8 represent עָז, but MT-2 Sam 6:5 represents עֵץ. Therefore, this writer suggests that in terms of the synoptic texts, Chronicles seems to have been written before Samuel was revised into MT-Samuel. However, this does not mean that the non-synoptic elements of Chronicles are of an earlier period than the pre-MT Samuel.

Therefore, if we read the literary history of Josh 6 with the help of similar ark texts in 1 Sam 4:1b-7:2, 2 Sam 6//1 Chron 13-16, and 1 Kgs 7:51-8:11//2 Chron 5, we can find the literary layers of Josh 6 as follows:

- 1) Basic layer, which is influenced by the synoptic source materials (BTH) of the ark's movement in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles: Josh 6:1-3a, 5-6aα, 7, 8aβb, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18-21, 24, 27;
- 2) Late-biblical outlook shared by Josh 6 and non-synoptic special materials in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles: Josh 6:4 (שִׁבְעָה), 8 (שִׁבְעָה), 12, 13 (שִׁבְעָה),

15a, 16 (השביעית), 26;

3) Redactional Insertion; 6:10, 17, 22-23, 25;

4) MT Pluses; 6:1 (מפני בני ישראל), 3 (חעשה ששח ימים), 4 (והכהנים יחקעו בשופרות) (כהנים ישאו שבעה שופרות היוכלים לפני הארון וביום השביעי חסכו את־העיר שבע פעמים (ושבעה), etc.

We also find that Num 10:33-36 is a non-Priestly layer, which is influenced by the texts on the transportation of the ark in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (BTH). Furthermore, it seems to be prior to the Priestly material in 9:15-10:32.

Chapter Five compares Josh 3-4 with the crossing of the Reed Sea in Exod 13:17-14:31 and with Elijah and Elisha crossing the river in 2 Kgs 2. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the relevance of reading Josh 3-4 in the wider context of Exod 13:17-14:31 and 2 Kgs 2, which are the water crossing stories of Moses and Elijah-Elisha. In order to find sufficient connections to justify putting them in any order, this chapter examines some shared words, major themes and motifs in these texts.

The preliminary analysis reveals that these three stories share some words. We find three words that are used in all three narratives: חרבה (Exod 14:21; Josh 3:17; 4:18; 2 Kgs 2:8); the consonantal cluster of חמשים (Exod 13:18; Josh 4:12; 2 Kgs 2:16); הרים (Exod 14:16; Josh 4:5; 2 Kgs 2:13). Even if חרבה has the same meaning in all three passages, it does not arouse our interests very much because these three passages are stories of crossing water on dry ground. However, the other two words (חמשים, הרים) also do not offer any definite connection of these narratives as they are used in different ways and are not common elsewhere in these three books. There are some more shared words that appear only in two texts, but they are also used in different ways in many cases. There are also some thematic similarities and shared motifs in these two or three stories. However, in the use of detailed words and phrases employed to describe them, these three water stories demonstrate

significant differences. In almost all the cases, different words are used.

Thus, it does not appear to be simple to establish a connection among the stories and to decide the historical order of these texts. We can see here that even though there are some shared expressions and themes, it is not easy to decide how the non-synoptic material (2 Kgs 2) in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles are related to the texts in the Pentateuch (Exod 13:17-14:31) and Former Prophets (Josh 3-4). Rather, it would be safer to read the literary history of Josh 3-4 in the context of other ark narratives as suggested in Chapter Four.

With the help of the previously mentioned investigations, Chapter Six attempts to read the literary history of Joshua 3-4 based on the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX and on the MT of Josh 3-4. This chapter retraces the complex literary history of Josh 3-4 and discusses the limitations of Polzin's synchronic study.

We found many differences between the OG *Vorlage* and the MT-Josh 3-4, there being in particular a much larger number of pluses in the MT than in the OG *Vorlage*. Thus, we appreciate that research on the textual history should precede the reconstruction of the literary history of Josh 3-4. We saw that the pluses in the MT are quite rare and unusual in Biblical Hebrew. In addition, we found that those pluses in the MT appear to have been inserted later with exegetical and theological intentions. Yet, the pluses in the OG *Vorlage* are quite common in the Old Testament and could easily belong to the original text of Josh 3-4. An analysis of other disagreements between the OG *Vorlage* and the MT also shows similar results. Furthermore, the OG *Vorlage* sometimes seems to have a better understanding of the context of this narrative than the MT and there are some verses which could be better explained by copying errors on the MT side. Thus, one could say that all these features of the divergences between the OG *Vorlage* and the MT of Josh 3-4 show the priority of the OG *Vorlage*. Furthermore, the OG *Vorlage* is the better and safer text from which to reconstruct the literary history of Josh 3-4. Nevertheless, this

study, being based on both texts, keeps an open mind regarding the textual history and reconstruction of the literary history of Josh 3-4, given that there are only a few cases that could be judged as uncertain: e.g. כִּי in 3:7, לָכֵן in 4:2, 3, בַּחֹךְ or מַחֹךְ in Josh 4:9, 10, 18, and חֲשִׁים in 3:15.

There seem to be five layers of different materials in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Josh 3-4. First, the basic layer (a) influenced by similar synoptic ark texts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (BTH) is 3:2-11, 13-17; 4:10b-11a, 14, 17-19. Second, the first addition to this narrative influenced by Deuteronomy (Deut 3:18; 6:20-21; 27:1-6) is 'b': 4:1-8, 10a, 11b, 12-13. Third, the second additional layer ('c') is 4:9. Fourth, the third redactional insertion ('d') emphasizes Joshua's diligence and the beginning of the realization of the Jordan crossing, and links chapter 3 to 4: 3:1, 12. Fifth, to those four layers, a final fourth redactional layer ('e') is added to connect this story with the ark narratives and Reed Sea story in Exodus: 4:15-16, 20-24. One thing we have to bear in mind here is that the form of question and answer seems to be developed in the order of Deut 6:20-21>> Josh 4:6-7>> non-Priestly Exod 13:8-10>> Priestly texts in Exod 12:26-27; 13:14-15.

It appears that there are four layers of different materials in the final shape of MT-Josh 3-4. The basic layer ('α') is influenced by BTH: 3:1-11, 13-17; 4:10-14, 17-19. The first addition to this narrative is 'β' influenced by mainly Deuteronomy: 3:12; 4:1-9. The second addition to this basic layer is 'γ', which connects this narrative with the epithet 'the ark of testimony' and the Reed Sea story in Exodus: 4:15-16, 20-24. Then, the final redactional interpolation ('δ') to this complex text consists of a number of pluses in the MT.

To test the result of our research, we reconstructed each stratum in the retroversion of LXX *Vorlage* and MT-Josh 3-4 into a table and examined what kinds of changes happen to those episodes when we reconstruct the text according to the process of combining each layer (a, a+b, a+b+c...etc and α, α+β, α+β+γ...etc) as

archaeologists or geologists find strata and remains. At each stage of amalgamation, we saw that this result is in accord with our conclusion.

Then, through the investigation of the distribution of major words in each layer, we found that the analytical result of word distribution supports our research.

Therefore, this investigation has unearthed two different plausible literary histories, each interesting and valuable in its own right. However, such a two-eyed dimensional perspective does not seem to be enough for an expert who is interested in the genuine history of the development of this narrative. Scholarly obligation requires us to examine how these chapters really did develop. Comparison of the OG *Vorlage* and the MT Josh 3-4 reveals two major differences. First, Josh 3:1, 12 belongs to the fourth ('d') layer in the LXX *Vorlage*, but 3:1 belongs to the basic layer (α) and 3:12 to the second layer (β) in the MT. Second, those two twelve stone stories in the middle of the Jordan and at the brink of the Jordan belong to two different layers (b, c) in the OG *Vorlage*, but to the same layer (β) in the MT. These differences are closely related to many variants in the LXX *Vorlage* and MT, and particularly to the many pluses in the MT.

(1) By the variation of ויסע in the OG *Vorlage* into ויסעו and the plus הוא וכל בני ישראל, an MT editor seems to have solved the awkwardness of the syntax of LXX *Vorlage* 3:1. This MT plus also links this verse with the same expression in Josh 3:9, 12 and the basic layer of this narrative (' α ' layer).

(2) An MT editor seems to have tried to solve the break between the LXX *Vorlage* Josh 3:12 and the LXX *Vorlage* Josh 4:2 and put איש-אחד in MT Josh 3:12 and איש-אחד, שנים עשר, לבם in MT Josh 4:2. With the help of pluses, MT Josh 3:12 is at the same level as MT Josh 4:1-8 (β).

(3) LXX *Vorlage* Josh 4:9 represents אחרים but MT Josh 4:9 does not. אחרים occurs in 1 Kgs 9:6//2 Chron 7:19, 1 Kgs 9:9//2 Chron 7:22, 2 Kgs 22:17//2 Chron 34:25 (BTH). In the Old Testament, the word is mainly used to warn against or

prevent Israel's sin of serving 'other' gods. Thus, the reminder of the first commandment (Exod 20:3; Deut 5:7) and the 'other' altar near the Jordan set up by the Transjordanian tribes (Josh 22:10-34) might have made an MT editor remove this word (אחרים) exegetically, in order to bestow the same authority to the stones in the middle of the Jordan as the stones at the brink of the Jordan. In this sense, MT seems to have removed יהוה from ברית יהוה (BTH) considering the negative meaning of אחרים, sinning against יהוה in LXX *Vorlage* 4:9.

Thus, if we reconstruct the possible real literary history of Josh 3-4, it seems to have been composed of five layers of different materials as we found in the LXX *Vorlage*. However, an MT editor, in attempting to solve the clumsiness and disconnection in context, deleted some expressions, changed some words, and added some others to the LXX *Vorlage*. This solved the discontinuity of context and decreased the complexity of this narrative, while making the final shape of MT Josh 3-4 much simpler.

Even although he insisted on the necessity of it, Polzin fails to consider the textual and literary history of Josh 3-4, but instead reads only from the final shape of the MT. In particular, his literary reading reveals critical problems in understanding a number of pluses in the MT. His understanding of this text as a cultic narrative and his attempt to solve many inconsistencies in Josh 3-4 by a shift of temporal point of view and the narrator's spatial point of view are based at several points on pluses in the MT. This only makes the limitation of his synchronic understanding all the more striking.

As we conclude the study of this topic, there appear to be some other areas of interest that could be studied further.

(1) As we have reconstructed a possible literary history and different layers

of Josh 3-4, we have to consider the position of this narrative in the setting of the wider Joshua narrative. For example, how much of Josh 3-4 is a natural part of the whole of the book of Joshua? Indeed, how many parts are different and distinctive, and how is the wider Joshua narrative related to the BTH?

(2) We saw that Samuel-Kings' shows interest mainly in the priests, but Chronicles takes an interest in the Levites as well as in the priests. A study of this difference would be also an interesting area for further research.

(3) It was also found that Joshua and some non-synoptic texts in Chronicles share some expressions: those non-synoptic ark texts in Chronicles and Josh 3-4 share the compound word *הכהנים (ו)הלויים* (Josh 3:3; 1 Chron 15:14; 2 Chron 5:5). There seem to be some late special materials, which are also shared by non-synoptic texts in Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, and Joshua. An analysis of additional points also supports this position: *יד יהוה* (Josh 4:24; 1 Sam 5:6, 9); *אחמול שלשים* (1 Sam 4:8) and *מחמול שלשים* (ב) (Josh 3:4; 4:18); *נפלאותיו* (Josh 3:5; 1 Chron 16:9, 12, 24); *ושכמו* (Josh 6:15; 1 Sam 5:3, 4) and *ושכבם* (Josh 3:1; 6:12); *מחרת* (1 Sam 5:3, 4); *מחר* (Josh 3:5; 4:6, 21); *מחר* (Josh 4:10; 1 Sam 4:14), etc. Thus, we could guess that there are some late special materials added to the synoptic texts of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, the formation of the texts resembling a river with many tributaries, in which BTH is the first tributary. This could be another interesting area for further study.

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